



**DELHI UNIVERSITY**  
**LIBRARY**

**DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**

C. No. 42: 841: A

A25

Ac. No. 167677

Date of release for loan

91 1963

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of 0.6 nP. will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.

---



**ORIGINAL SANSKRIT. TEXTS.**





# ORIGINAL SAṆSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE  
ORIGIN AND HISTORY  
OF  
THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS,  
COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND OF THE AMERICAN  
ORIENTAL SOCIETY, CORRESPONDENT OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS, AND  
BRIEN ELIZIUS, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AND FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE LONDON LITERARY SOCIETY.

---

VOLUME FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE  
PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED



LONDON:

**HERTFORD:**  
**PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.**

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities *Brahmā*, *Vishnu*, and *Rudra*, and of the goddess *Ambikā*, in the Vedic hymns and *Brāhmaṇas*, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, and to show, so far as the materials at our command will allow, to what extent, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–62) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the *Rig-veda*, and in the *Atharva-veda*, under the different titles of *Viśvakarman*, *Mr̥ṇyagarbha*, and *Prajāpati*, and appears to correspond with the *Brahmā* of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with *Vishnu* and *Rudra*, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character, if at all altered, has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

\* [With the exception of the notes in pages vi., vii., and x., and the alterations in the figures showing the pages in which the several chapters and sections begin and end, rendered necessary by the additions made in this second edition, this preface is reprinted nearly as it originally stood.]

Brahmā was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishnu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 188, 194, 230, 267, 273). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.\* Three of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to

\* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, p. 309, reprinted in vol. III of his collected works, pp. 74 f., and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21. In the preface to his edition of the Nārada Panchartri, published in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1865, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee refers to this subject: "Of the three select divinities," (Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva) "the first, however, had never become an object of special adoration, having been guilty of an incestuous attempt on his own daughter" (See pp. 40 ff. of this volume). "The incident is thus accounted for in the work now presented to the public." The words referred to will be quoted below. They occur in the tenth section, vv. 30 f. It had been previously related that Brahmā had exhorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (*śrīśānti kuru mahābhāga kṛitvā dīna-paripālaka*, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Krishna, becomes angry, affirms that devotion to that god is the sole way to attain felicity, and denounces his father as an unwise instructor (vv. 7-22). Brahmā in reply curses Nārada, and dooms him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women, etc. (vv. 23-29). Nārada pays back the imprecation in the lines translated by Mr. Banerjee, which I give in the original, with some of those that follow: *śrīśāntya vachanaṁ śrūtā chukopa Nārada munih | sarupa pitaraṁ vighraṁ duramaṁ cha yathochitam* | 31 *Apūyo bhava dṛṣṭa tvaṁ tran-muniropanah | luteh | agamyā-gamaneccha te bhavishyati na māmāyuh* | 32 *Nū adasya tu vāpinaḥ 'pūyo jagatāṁ vidhih | arishtāḥ śa-kaṅgū-ūpāṁ cha pascad dhūṁ itarāṁ purā* | 33 *Imah vachāṁ tatyāja bhṛtāḥ śa-kaḥ idbhīh | lopyat kama yutaḥ cha punaḥ Brahma babhūva sah* | 34 *Nāradaḥ tī namasritya pitaraṁ kamalābharaṁ | upra-deham paritayya gandharvaś cā bubhūva sah* | 35 "Hearing the words of his father, the muni Nārada became incensed, and straightway cursed him dreadfully, as was befitting. 31. 'Wretch, become no object of adoration: how shall any one be devoted to the forms of thy worship? Thou shalt without doubt lust after her who is no fit object of thy desires.' 32. 'Through this curse of Nārada, the creator of the world ceased to be an object of worship. Beholding the beauty of his daughter, he formerly ran after her.' 33. Afterwards, being reproached by Śaṅkara and others, he abandoned his corporeal form. Brahmā afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his lotus-born father, forsook his Brahmanical body, and became a Gandharva." His loves are then related.

him, or to Emūsha, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise, a boar,\* and a fish, are in later works transferred to Vishnu (see pp. 27, 33 f., 36 and 38).

The Second Chapter (pp. 63-228) first of all describes the original conception of Vishnu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 63-97). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description; but the conception is not distinctly developed in any of the texts. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishnu; and we might thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishnu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 97-114). The Third Section (pp. 114-121) treats of Vishnu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth

\* Compare the passage from the Tattirīa Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1; quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 52.

Section (pp. 121-156) contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas. In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 156 ff.), in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Viṣṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section (pp. 163-298), and pp. 441-491 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Kṛishṇa, the two heroes who came ultimately to be regarded as the principal incarnations of Viṣṇu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Kṛishṇa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history when they were composed. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these

two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishnu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter (pp. 299-437) traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 299-320), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (321-331), in the Atharva-veda (332-339), in the Brāhmaṇas and Mahābhārata (339-355), in the Upanishads (355-363), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god's proceedings; and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Dakṣa's sacrifice (363-393). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 393-405. Pages 405-420 contain an inquiry into the origin of the Linga worship,—though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained;—and into the question whether or not Mahādeva's worship was most prevalent in the South of India in the epic era. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṃśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (pp. 420-437).

• A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Vishnu, Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Umā, etc.

• It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the



main results at which I have arrived in regard to Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R.V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to *Bhāg. Pur.* vol. iii. p. xxii.), whose remarks are subjoined in a note,\* and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R.V. i. p. xxxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Viṣṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 64 ff.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 394 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 421 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could

\* "We can at this day go further still, and affirm that the Viṣṇu of the Vedas is in no way the Viṣṇu of the mythologists. A commentator of a certain authority, Durgachārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāska, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen," (i.e. R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) "says positively that Viṣṇu is the sun, either because he enters into the heaven, or because he entirely occupies it. This interpretation, which he derives from Yāska himself, leaves no doubt on the question what we are to understand by the Viṣṇu of the Vedas, who takes three steps. It is manifestly the luminary of day regarded in the three principal moments of his course, his rising, meridional position, and setting; and there is none of the expressions of the Vedic texts in which this god appears, making himself in three steps master of the celestial vault, to which this explanation given by Yāska several centuries before our era does not apply. We learn by this example what prudence it is indispensable to bring to the studies by the aid of which criticism must restore the chain which connects the mythical development of the Indian religion with the conceptions of the primitive naturalism of the Vedas. Neither the identity of the names, nor even that of the sense, is a sufficiently sure guide; and the ideas, though originally simple, are clothed in forms either so different, or so easy to be confounded, that we cannot judge of the details without having understood and embraced the whole."

discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

WITH the exception of a variety of additions, interspersed through the work, which in all fill about 60 pp., but little alteration has been made in this Edition. The most important additions, chiefly in notes, will be found in pp. 39 f., 78 f., 126, 131, 138 f., 143 f., 151–156, 165, 167, 200–203, 255 f., 261 f., 267, 278, 289 f., 298, 301–303, 304, 310, 314 f., 317, 321, 327 ff., 337, 341, 347 f., 381, 393, 403, 406, 413 f., 420, 425, 441 f., 456, 464 f., 472, 474, 476, 491–493, 494, 496, and in the “Additional Notes.” The addition in pp. 151–156, from the Matsya Purāṇa, contains a statement (unusual, if not altogether unknown in other Indian works) in reference to Viṣṇu’s incarnations, which represents seven of them as being the result of a curse uttered against the god by Sukra, the priest of the Asurās, whose mother he (Viṣṇu) had slain. At the same time it is affirmed, strangely enough, that these incarnations, though occasioned by a curse, were intended for the repression of unrighteousness when it should become dominant on the earth.

# CONTENTS.

PAGES.

## v.—xii. PREFACES.

### 1, 2. PLAN OF THE WORK.

3—62. CHAPTER I. TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMANAS, AND PURĀNAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VIŚVAKARMA, DAKṢHA, ADITI, HIRAN̄YAGARBHA, ŚKAMBHA, PRAJĀPATI, PURUṢHA, NĀRĀYAṆA, AND BRAHMĀ.

3—20. SECT. I. Texts from the R̥g and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation and some of the deities just named.

20—62. SECT. II. Creation; primeval waters; mundane egg; Brahmā or Prajāpati; morality of the Indian gods; creation of the gods, etc.; according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and the Harivaṃśa.

63—298. CHAPTER II. VIṢṆU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRĀHMANAS, THE ITIHĀSAS, AND THE PURĀNAS.

63—97. SECT. I. Passages in the Hymns of the R̥g-veda relating to Viṣṇu.

97—114. SECT. II. Subordinate position occupied by Viṣṇu in the Hymns of the R̥g-veda, as compared with other deities, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

114—121. SECT. III. Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Ādityas, according to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas.

121—156. SECT. IV. Stories regarding Viṣṇu from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

- 156—298. SECT. V. Vishnu, as represented in the Nirukta, and his character and incarnations as described in the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; with Notices of Mahādeva.
- 299—437. CHAPTER III. RUDRA OR MAHĀDEVA, AND AMBĪKĀ OR UMĀ, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMANAS AND UPANISHADS, AND IN THE ITIHĀSAS AND PURĀNAS.
- 299—320. SECT. I. Rudra, as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.
- 321—331. SECT. II. Passages relating to Rudra, and to Ambikā, from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the white Yajur-veda.
- 332—339. SECT. III. Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.
- 339—355. SECT. IV. Passages relating to Rudra from the Satapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas; and from the Mahābhārata.
- 355—363. SECT. V. Passages relating to Rudra from the Upanishads.
- 363—393. SECT. VI. Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.
- 393—420. SECT. VII. Conclusions deducible from the preceding sections in regard to the mythological history of Rudra: inquiry in regard to the origin of the Linga worship, and the question whether in the epic era Rudra was especially worshipped in the South of India.
- 420—437. SECT. VIII. Earlier and later representations of Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, or Durgā, according to the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.
- 439—501. APPENDIX, CONTAINING CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL TEXTS.
439. NOTE A. Passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana regarding the creation by Prajāpati.
- 439—441. NOTE B. Passage from the Rāmāyana regarding Vishnu's three steps.
441. NOTE C. Reference to some variations in the text of Schlegel's and the Bombay Rāmāyana.

PAGES.	
441—491.	NOTE D. Passages from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata relating to the legendary history of Rāma, and the question whether in the oldest text of the former poem he was represented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.
491—493.	NOTE E. Quotations from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa regarding the Yatis.
494.	NOTE F. Opinions of Professors Roth and Aufrecht regarding the meanings of the root <i>śru</i> .
494.	NOTE G. Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Rāvaṇa.
494—497.	NOTE H. Story of Indra and Indrajit.
497—500.	NOTE I. Hymn x. 127 of the Rīgveda; and Durgā-stava, or Rātrisūkta.
500—501.	NOTE J. Quotation from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa regarding the tongues of Agni.
502—508.	ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS, including further remarks and quotations regarding the word Sipivishṭa.
509—524.	INDEX.



# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

## VOLUME FOURTH.

### PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

REFERENCE has already been made in the second volume of this work (pp. 212-216, 1st ed.)<sup>1</sup> to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Viṣṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the R̥g-veda with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later narratives and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the R̥g-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Puranic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, stories in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the representations given of the most popular divinities became not only at

<sup>1</sup> The passage occurs at pp. 201-204 of the 2nd ed



variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the deities Viśvakarman, Hiranyagarbha, Prajāpati, etc.; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṇas, and (3) by quotations from Manu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Viṣṇu and Rudra, and the goddess Ambikā, with occasional notices of other Indian deities.

## CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMAÑAS, AND PURĀNAS,  
ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND  
TO THE DEITIES VIŚVAKARMA, BRAHMAÑASPATI, DAKṢHA,  
ADITI, HIRAṆYAGARBHA, SKAMBHA, PRAJĀPATI, PURUṢHA  
NĀRĀYAṆA, BRAHMĀ, ETC.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation  
and some of the deities just named.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, x. 129 (= TAITTIRĪYA  
BRĀHMAṆA, ii. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.<sup>1</sup>—*Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm na āsīd rajo  
no ryoma paro yat | kim ācarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd  
gahanaṁ gabhīram | 2. Na mṛityur āsīd amṛitaṁ na tarhi na rātryāḥ  
ahnaḥ<sup>1</sup> āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād ha anyad  
na paraḥ kinchanāsa | 3. Tamaḥ āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre<sup>2</sup> apraketaṁ  
salīlaṁ sarvaṁ āḥ idam | tuchhyena ūbhv apihitaṁ yad āsīt tapasas tad*

<sup>1</sup> The Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us, and employs it in support of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *Pradhāna*: *Veda-vāda-vido rṣipūh myatāḥ Brahma-vādinah | pathanti vai tam evārtham Pradhāna-pratipādaṁ* | 22. *Nāho na rātrir na haḥho na bhūmir nāsīt tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotrādi-buddhyānupalabhyam ekaṁ prādhānikam Brahma pumāna tadāsit* | “Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of *Pradhāna*. 22. ‘There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahma possessing the character of *Pradhāna*, the Male, incomprehensible by the eye, or other senses, or by the intellect.’” See Dr. Hall’s ed. of Wilson’s V. P., vol. i., pp. 23 ff., with the Editor’s notes.

<sup>2</sup> These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x.<sup>o</sup> 6, 5, 1 (= Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upan-

*mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. Kāmas<sup>3</sup> tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso rataḥ  
prathamam yad āsīt | sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratishya  
karayo manishā | 5. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) Tiraścīno vitato raśmir eśhūm  
adhaḥ svid dśid upari svid āsīt | retodhāḥ āsan mahimānaḥ āsan svadhū  
arastāt prayatiḥ parastāt | 6. Ko anga veda kaḥ iha pravochat kutaḥ  
ājātā kutaḥ iyaṁ visṛiṣṭiḥ | arvōg devāḥ asya visarjanena atha ko veda  
yatiḥ ābabhūva | 7. Iyaṁ visṛiṣṭir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi  
vā na | yo asyādhyakṣhaḥ parama vyoman sa anga veda yadi vā na veda |*

"There was then neither non-entity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor the sky which is above. What enveloped [all]? where, in the receptacle of what [was it hid]? was it water,<sup>4</sup> the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That, being One, breathed calmly, in self-dependence: there was nothing different from It [that One] or above It. 3. Darkness existed; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; that One which lay void,<sup>5</sup> and wrapped in a husk [or in nothingness], was developed by the power of fervour. 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] the wise, seeking by their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond between non-entity and entity. 5. The ray [or cord] which stretched across these [worlds],—was it above, or was it below? There were impregnating energies, and mighty powers; a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the development of this [universe]; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what

ishad, pp. 26 ff., in Bibl. Ind.), it is said, *Na eva iha kinchana agre āsīt | mṛityuṁ eva idam āvṛitam āsīt* | "Originally there was nothing here. This was enveloped by Death," etc. See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> In the passages which I shall quote from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc., further on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: so '*kāmayatu*, "he desired," etc. In a hymn of the Atharva V. (ix. 2) Kāma is personified as a deity. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 402 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In regard to water, as the origin of all things, see verse 3, and the quotation which are given further on, from R. V. x. 82, 5 f., x. 72, 6; the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.

<sup>5</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhu* and *luchhya*.

source this creation arose and whether [any one] made it or not, "—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or [even] He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 559-566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pāṇini," pp. 144 f. The hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 356 ff., to which I refer.

VIŚVAKARMA, —RIG-VEDA, x. 81 AND 82 (= VĀJ. SANH. xvii. 17-23; 25-31; AND TAITT. SANH. iv. 6, 2, 1 ff.).

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—*Yāḥ imā rīṣṭā bhuranāni juhvad rīshir kotī nyashīdat pitā naḥ | sa āśishā dravinam ichhamānaḥ prathama-chhad avarān' āvīśa | 2. Kīm svid āsīd adhishṭhānam ārambhaṇam kathamat srit kathā 'sit | yato bhūmim janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurnod mahinā vīśvachakrah | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) Viśvataśchakrah uta vīśvatomukho vīśvatobāhur uta vīśvataśpāt | sam bāhubhyām dhamati [namati: T. S.] sam patatrair dyāvā-bhūmī janayan devaḥ ekah | 4. Kīm svid vanaḥ [R. V. x. 31, 7] kaḥ u sa vīśvachakrah āsa yato dyāvā-prithivī nishṭatakshuḥ | manīṣhino manasū prichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan | 5. Yā te dhāmāni paramāni yā 'ramā yā madhyanū Viśvakarmann utemā | śiksha sakhibhyo haviṣi svadhūrah srayam yajasva tanvām vridhānaḥ | 6. (= S. V. 2, 939.) Viśvakarman harishū vācridhānaḥ svayam yajasva prithivim uta dyām | muhyantu anye abhito janāsaḥ<sup>10</sup> ihāsmākam magharā sūrir astu | 7. (= Vāj. S. 8, 45.) Vācaspatisū Viśvakarmānam ūtaye mangojuraṁ vaje adya hurema | sa no vīśvāni haranāni joshud vīśvāśambhūr avase sādhu-karmā |*

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff.—*Chakshushas pitā manasū hi dhīro gṛhītaḥ<sup>11</sup> ene*

<sup>6</sup> Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht. Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon. under the root *ishā* (p. 903).

<sup>7</sup> Paramachhado vare | T.S.

<sup>8</sup> The A.V. reads *yo vīśvacharshajānir uta vīśvatomukho yo vīśvataśpānir uta vīśvataśspriṭhaḥ | sam bāhubhyām bharati*, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Instead of *prithivim uta dyām* the S.V. reads *tanvām svā hi te*.

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *janāsaḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ*.

<sup>11</sup> Compare R.V. v. 83, 8. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 f.

ayanad namnamāno | yadā id antāḥ adadriḡanta pūrve ad id dyāvā-  
 prithivī aprathetām | 2. Viśvakarmā vimānāḥ ad<sup>12</sup> viśvayāḥ dhātū  
 vidhātū paramā uta sañdriḡ<sup>13</sup> | teshām iśṭūni sam iśhā madanti yatra  
 sapta rishin-paraḥ ekam ākuḥ | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) Yo naḥ pitū  
 janitā yo vidhātū<sup>14</sup> dhāmāni ceda bhuvanāni viśvā<sup>15</sup> | yo devānām  
 nūmadhūk ekaḥ eva taṁ sampraśṅgam bhuvanā yanti anyā | 4. To  
 āyujanta drichman sam asmai rishayaḥ pūrve jaritūro na bhūnā |  
 [=Nir vi. 15] asūrtte sūrtte rajasi nishatte<sup>16</sup> yo bhūtāni samahṛimān  
 imāni | 5. Paro duā paraḥ enā prathivyā paro devibhir asutair yad  
 asti<sup>17</sup> | kaṁ svid garbham prathamam dudhre ūpo yatra devāḥ sama-  
 paśiyanta viśve | 6. Tam id garbham prathamam dadhre ūpo yatra devāḥ  
 samagacchanta viśve | aśasya nūbhāv adhy ekam arpitam yasmin viśvāni  
 bhū-umūni tasthuh<sup>18</sup> | 7. Na taṁ vidatha yā imā jajana anyad yushmā-  
 kam antaḥ am babhūva<sup>19</sup> | nihureṇa prairitūḥ jalpyu cha asutripaḥ ukṣha-  
 śūśaś cha anti |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff — "Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these creatures,—he, earnestly desiring substance, he, the archetype, entered into later [men] 2 What was the position, which and whence was the principle, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarma produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3 The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the sky and earth, shapes them<sup>20</sup> with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the wood, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned the heaven and

<sup>12</sup> *Manasū yad* | T.S.

<sup>13</sup> See R V iv. 1, 6, and iv 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x 26, p 141

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *yo vidhātū* the A V has *sa uta bandhuh*

<sup>15</sup> *Yo naḥ soto abhi ā saj jayāna* | T S

<sup>16</sup> *Asūrtte sūrtte rajaso vimāne* | T S

<sup>17</sup> *Guhā yat* | T.S.

<sup>18</sup> After this verse the Taitt. Saṁh has the following: [=Vā] S xiii 32] *Viśva-karmanō hy ayanasṭha devāḥ ad id gandharva abhavad devīyah | tritīyah pitū janitū ośhadhī am apām garbham vyadadhāt purutṛā* | "The god Viśvakarma was born then the Gandharva was produced the second, the third was the father, the generator of plants, he divided into many parts the source of the waters"

<sup>19</sup> *Bharātī* | T S

<sup>20</sup> Compare R V. x 72, 2, below, p 11, and R V iv 2-17 (=A. V. xiii. 3, 22) *Āyo na devāḥ janitū dhāmantaḥ* | "The gods blowing on [or shaping] productions, like men"

the earth?"<sup>21</sup> Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Do thou, Viśvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle, and these. Thou who art strong in the oblation, exhilarated, thyself offer up thyself.<sup>22</sup> 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, delighted by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are round about me become confounded. May a generous son remain here to us.<sup>23</sup> 7. Let us to-day invoke in our conflict the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The father of insight, wise in mind, impregnated with sap these two [worlds] as they bowed down [before him]. When their remotest ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names,<sup>24</sup> to him the other creatures resort for instruction. 4. The former rishis, who fashioned these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him, like worshippers, substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters<sup>25</sup> contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters, contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected.

<sup>21</sup> This half verse also occurs in R. V. x. 31, 7. The second half verse, as also the answer given to the question in Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, "Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree," etc., are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> See, however, Roth, s.v. *śunu*, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Prof. Aufrecht proposes to translate this verse as follows: "May all other people around us vanish into nothing, but our own offspring remain blessed in this world." In proof of the sense of "offspring," or "son," here assigned to *sūri* (though it has not always this meaning), he refers to R. V. v. 42, 4; vi. 26, 7; vi. 63, 11; vi. 68, 7; vii. 66, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R. V. i. 18f, 4, between *śumakhasya sūriḥ* and *divaḥ putrah*.

<sup>24</sup> *Nāna oha pitā eva karoti* | Mahidhara.

<sup>25</sup> Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

One [receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all beings stood. 7. Ye cannot know him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The sense in some parts of them is clear, in others very obscure. The verses of which they are made up are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (xvii. 17-23, and 25-31), in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda, and without any various readings of importance. They are also repeated in the Taittiriya Sanhitā, with variations, of which the chief have been noted above. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Parisiṣṭa, ii. 10. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (pp. 141, f.), offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,<sup>26</sup> is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man): and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1, 10, and viii. 2, 3, 13, identifies Viśvakarman with Prajāpati (*Prajāpatir vai Viśvakarmā*). See also<sup>4</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimunchatu.*

the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 22<sup>a</sup>, and Professor Haug's translation, p. 299.

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26 :

*Tatretihāsam āchakshate | Viśvakarmā Bhuvanah sarvamedhe sarvāni  
bhūtāni juhavānchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavānchakāra | tad-  
abkivādiny eṣhā rig bhavati 'yāḥ imā viśvā bhutanāni juhvad' iti |*  
"Here they tell a story : Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up  
all creatures at a universal sacrifice (*sarvamedha*). He finally offered  
up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive  
of this, viz., 'he who offering up all beings,' etc."

Some further passages relating to Viśvakarman will be found below,  
in the sixth section of the third chapter, to which, as well as to the  
first volume of this work, pp. 52, 76, and 456 f., and to the fifth  
volume, p. 372, I may refer.

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81),  
Professor Roth remarks thus : "For the correct understanding of the  
second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages,  
the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yajāḥ ṛitubhir deva  
devān evā yajasva tanvaṁ sṛjāta |* 'As thou (O Agni) at the measured  
times, O god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.'  
Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way  
are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be under-  
stood ; *srayāṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ |* 'sacrifice to thyself for thine  
own glorification' : the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a  
misunderstanding of the word *tanū*<sup>27</sup> and of the construction of the  
root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it  
appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner : 'He who re-  
ceived all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the

<sup>27</sup> In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes : "The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.



6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: 'Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.' The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tanvān svā hi te*, 'offer thy body, for it is thine,' instead of *prithivīm uta dyām*, 'offer earth and heaven') may be an amendment in support of the legend."

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sūkta. See the first volume of this work, pp. 8, 9, and the fifth volume, pp. 367, ff. Possibly both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Sūkta. The author there puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn:

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyād nalinād aham āsam mahātmanah | nāvindaṁ  
yajna-sambhārān Purushāvayavān rito |* 22. *Teshu yajnasya paśavaḥ  
sa-vanaspatayaḥ kuśāḥ | idancha deva-yajanaṁ kālāś choru-guṇānritaḥ |*  
23. *Vastūny oshadayaḥ snehāḥ rasa-loha-mṛido jālam | richo yajūṁshi  
sāmāni chāturhotrancha sattama |* 24. *Nāmadheyāni mantrās cha dakṣhinās  
cha vratāni cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha |*  
25. *Gatayo matayaś chaiva prāyaścchikīṭāṁ samarpaṇam | Purushāva-  
yavair ele sambhārūḥ sambhritūḥ mayā |* 26. *Iti sambhrita-sambhārāḥ  
Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushaṁ yajnaṁ tenaivāyajam īśvaram |*

"21. When I was produced," says Brahmā, "from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the Kuśa grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Rich, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the texts, the

gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication,—all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice.”]

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82) as follows: “They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings . . . . . furnished to him the material.” In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrtta*, not by “still,” but by “distant;” and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

The later conception of Viśvakarman, as the artificer of the gods, is found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, i. 2592: *Viśvakarmā mahābhāgo jajne śilpa-prajāpatiḥ | kartā śilpa-sahasrāṇām tridaśānām cha vardhakiḥ | bhūṣaṇānām cha sarveśhām kartā śilpavatām varah | yo diryāni vimānāni tridaśānām chakāra ha | manushyāś chopajīvanti tasya śilpam mahātmanah | pūjayanti cha yaṁ nityaṁ Viśvakarmānam avyayam* | “Then was born the illustrious Viśvakarman, the lord of the arts, executor of a thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities; on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship.”

BRAHMANASPATI, DAKSHA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, x. 72.<sup>28</sup>

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānām nu vyaṁ jānū praroḥāma ripanyayā | uktheshu śasyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge*<sup>29</sup> | 2. *Brahmanaspatir otā sam karmārah*<sup>30</sup> *ivādhamat | devānam pūrve yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata*<sup>31</sup> |

<sup>28</sup> This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>29</sup> See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, under the word *yuga*; and the first volume of this work, p. 45 f.

<sup>30</sup> *Karmārah* | *sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upadhamaty evam udapādayat* | (Sāyana)  
“As a blacksmith blows up fire with a bellows, so he created them.” Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 6, and note 20, there.

<sup>31</sup> Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Brāhanta nāma te devāḥ ye 'sataḥ pari jajmire | ikam tad angam Skambhanya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | “Great are those gods who

Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds to remark: "Daksha, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life."

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

"*Aṣṭau putrāṣaḥ*" *putrāḥ Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti* | "*Ye Adites tanvas pari*" *śarirāḥ "jātāḥ" utpannāḥ* | *Aditer aṣṭa-putrāḥ Adhvaryava-brāhmaṇaḥ parigaṇitāḥ* | *tathā hi* | "*tān anukramishyāmo Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha Dhātā cha Aryamā cha Aṁśaś cha Bhagaś cha Vivasvān Ādityaś cheti*" | *tathā tattraiva pradeśāntare Aditīm prastutya āmāntam* | *tasyāḥ uchchheshanām adadhuḥ tat prāśnūt* | *sū reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāraḥ Ādityāḥ ajāyanta sū dritiyam apibad*" *ityādinā aṣṭānām Ādityānām utpattir varṇāt* |

"Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: 'We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātri, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.' In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: "They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion], etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas." See the first volume of this work, pp. 26 f.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn:

*Aṣṭau ha vai putrāḥ Aditeḥ* | *Yāme tv etad "devāḥ Ādityāḥ" ity āchakshate sapta ha eva te* | *avikṛitāḥ<sup>28</sup> ha aṣṭamaṁ janayānchakāra Mūrtiḥ<sup>29</sup> aḥ* | *sandegho<sup>30</sup> ha evāsa* | *yāvān evordhras tāvāme tiryag puruṣa-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ* | 4. *Te u kv ete uchur devāḥ Ādityāḥ* | *yad asmān anv ajanimā tad amnyeṇa bhūd* | *hanta imāṁ vikaravāma*" *iti* | *taṁ vichakrur yathā 'yam puruṣo vikṛitas tanya yāni māmāni saṅkṛitya sannyaśus tato hasti samabdhavat* | *tasmeṇ āhur "na hastinam*

<sup>28</sup> *Avikṛitāḥ kara-chareṇādi-vikṛaḥ iti tad-rahitam* | Comm.

<sup>29</sup> *Samyeḥ upachitāḥ samāḥ evāsi* | Comm.

*parigrihāyāt puruṣhājāṅg<sup>40</sup> hi hāstī<sup>41</sup> iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa  
Vivāsvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |*

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda, the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds :

"Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārt-tāṇḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape (without hands and feet, etc.). He was a smooth lump; of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, 'If in his nature he be not conformable to ours, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.' Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified (by possessing different members). An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and thence ~~came~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~. Wherefore men say, 'let no one catch an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man.' He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended."

#### HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, x. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiranyagarbhaḥ<sup>42</sup>*  
*samavaritātāgre bhūtasya jūtaḥ<sup>43</sup> patir ekaḥ āsit | sa dādāhāra prithivīm  
dyām utemām kasmai devāya<sup>44</sup> haviṣhā vidhema |* 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13:  
A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadāḥ baladāḥ yasya viśve upāsate prasisham yasya  
devāḥ | yasya chhāyā amṛitaṁ yasya mṛityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi |* 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Puruṣhājāṅgaḥ puruṣha-prakṛitikaḥ* | Comm.

<sup>41</sup> *Hiranye hi anya-puruṣha-rūpe brahmāṇḍe garba-rūpeṇa avasthitaḥ Prajāpatiḥ*  
*Hiranyagarbhaḥ bhūtasya prajāyātasya agre samavaritātā prajāyātapatteḥ purā  
svayam śarīra-dhārī bābhūva* | Prajāpati Hiranyagarbha, existing as an embryo,  
in the egg of Brahman, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*puruṣha*),—  
sprang into being before all living creatures; himself took a body before the pro-  
duction of all living creatures." Mahidhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4. (Compare the words  
*hiranyagṛh* *śakunir Brahma nāma* | "The golden bird, namely Brahma," in Taitt.  
Br. 3, 12, 9, 7.)

<sup>42</sup> *Jūtaḥ*. Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1; R. V. x. 133, 2, *asatrur Indra jajnishe*—  
"Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . *tvam  
anāpīr Indra janushā sanāḍ asi* | "Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow."

<sup>43</sup> *Kasmai devāya* | *Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya* | "Kasmai, 'to whom,' is  
for *Kāya*, the dative of *Ka*, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatir  
vai Ka tasmai haviṣhā vidhema* | "Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations."  
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 1, 19.

(Vāj. S. 23, 3 : A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yāñ prāṇaṇ nimishato mahitvā ekaḥ id rājā jagato babhūva | ya iṣe asya dvipadaś ckatuṣpadaś kasmai ityādi* | 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12 : A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyemo himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā<sup>44</sup> sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradīto yasya bhū kasmai ityādi* | 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 8, 7 : A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur ugrā prīthivī cha drīḥ yena evaḥ stabhitā yena nākaḥ | yo antarikṣo rajaso vimānaḥ kasmai ityādi* | 6. *Yāñ krandaś<sup>45</sup> avasū tastabhāne abhy aikṣetām manasū rejamāne | yatrādhi sūrah udito vibhāti kasmai ityādi* | 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25 : A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad bṛihatir viśvam āyan garbhaṁ<sup>46</sup> dadhānāḥ janayantir agniṁ | tato devānām samavarttatāsaur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi* | 8. (= Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yas chid āpo mahinā paryapaśyad dakṣhaṁ dadhānāḥ janayantir yajnam | yo doveshṇ adhi devaḥ ek<sup>47</sup> . . . it kasmai ityādi* | 9. (= Vāj. S. 12, 102.) *Mā no himsij janitū yaḥ prīthivyāḥ yo vā divaṁ satyadharmā jajūnā | yaś chāpas chandrāḥ bṛihatir jajūna kasmai<sup>47</sup> ityādi* | 10. (= Vāj. S. 10, 20 : A. V. 7, 79, 4 ; 7, 80, 3 ; Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpate na tvad etūny anyo viśvū jātāni paritā babhūva | yatkāmās te juhumaś tan no astu vayaṁ syāma patayo rayinām* |

"1. Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning; born, he was the one lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose

<sup>44</sup> On the word *rasā*, see the second volume of this work, p. 343, note 119.

<sup>45</sup> *Krandaś* | "This word is explained in Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, as Mahīdhara *in loco* understands it, and Sayana on R. V. ii. 12, 8, alternatively interprets,—the other sense assigned being, armies,—but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

<sup>46</sup> Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3 ; x. 82, 5, 6 ; and x. 72, 6.

<sup>47</sup> I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Maṇḍala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . *kva svij jātaḥ kutaḥ ābabhūva* | 4. *ātīmā devānām bhuvanāya garbho yathāvaśaṁ charati devaḥ ehaḥ | ghoṣhūḥ id asya śrinivire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātūya havishū vidhema* | "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom two contending armies, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the risen sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who produced the great and brilliant waters!—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches.”

On Prajāpati, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 352 f.; 390 ff.

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first eight verses in the Taittirīya Sanhitā iv. 1, 8, 3 ff., and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahidhara's Commentary on the first-named Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotation on Vāj. S. 27, 5, =verse 7, the commentator Mahidhara refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1: *Āpo ha vai idam agre salilān vāsa* | “This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;”<sup>16</sup> and explains the words *garbham dadhānāḥ*, “containing a germ,” thus: *tathā garbham Hiranyagarbhalakṣaṇam dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ataḥ eva agniṁ janayantiḥ agni-rūpam Hiranyagarbham janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ* |

And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden

<sup>16</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 50, 7, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 345; and the quotations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and other works in the next section.

embryo *Hiranyagarbha*); and consequently generating, being about to produce, fire,—*Hiranyagarbha* in the form of fire." The *Atharva-veda* reads this seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): *Āpo agre viśtam āvan garbham dadhānāḥ amṛitāḥ ritaṇnāḥ | yāsu devishv adhi devaḥ asit kasmai ityādi* | "In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god," etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: *Āpo vataṁ janayantir garbham agre samairayan | tasyota jāyamānasya ulbaḥ ūsid hiranyayaḥ | kasmai devāya ityādi*—"In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which, as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering."

The idea of the production of the divine principle by which the gods were animated (*asu*) from the embryo generated in the waters, contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7) is replaced, as we shall find, in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the later mythology by that of the generation of *Prajāpati*, or *Brahmā*, from the egg formed in the waters. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of *Prajāpati*, which became a title of *Brahmā*. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a "golden covering" to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: *Hiranyagarbham paramam anatyudyam janāḥ viduḥ | Skambhas tadagre prāsinchad hiranyaṁ loke antarā* | "Men know *Hiranyagarbha*, the supreme, the ineffable: before him *Skambha* [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world."

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the A. V. in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following. [The whole of the hymn A. V. x. 7, and a portion of A. V. x. 8, are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 378 ff., which can be referred to.]

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE ATHARVA-VEDA, x. 7, AND x. 8.

A. V. x. 7, 7.—*Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ* | 8. *Yat paramam avamaṁ*

*yachcha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ saerjṣaḥ viśva-rūpam | kiyatā Skambhaḥ  
praviveśa tatra yan na praviśat kiyat tad bādhuva | 9. Kiyatā Skambhaḥ  
praviveśa bhūtaṁ kiyat dhavishyaṁ anvāsyaḥ 'sya | ekam yad angam akri-  
not sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra | . . . 17. Yo puruṣhe  
brahma vidus te viduḥ parameshthinam | yo veda parameshthinam yaś cha  
veda Prajāpatiḥ | jyeshtham yo brāhmaṇam vidus te Skambham anu-  
samviduḥ | . . . 24. Yatra devāḥ brahmavidō brahma jyeshtham upāsate |  
yo vai tān vidyāt pratyakṣam sa brahmā veditā syāt | . . . 32. Yasya  
bhūmiḥ pramā antarikṣam utodasam | divam yaś chakre mūrdhnam  
tasmai jyeshthāya Brahmane namaḥ | . . . 35. Skambho dādāhāra dyāvū-  
prithivī ubhe ime Skambho dādāhārorv antarikṣam | Skambho dādāhāra  
pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvī(?) Skambhaḥ idam viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa |  
36. Yaḥ śramāt tapaso jūto lokān sarvān samānase | somaṁ yaś chakre  
kevalam tasmai jyeshthāya Brahmane namaḥ | . . . 41. Yo vetasaṁ  
hiranyayam tishthantam salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |*

A. V. x. 8, 2.—Skambheneme viśvabhite dyauḥ cha bhūmiś cha tish-  
ṭhataḥ | Skambhaḥ idam sarvam ātmanvad yai prāṇad nimishachcha yat |  
. . . 11. Yad ajati patati yachcha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇan nimishach  
cha yad bhuvat | tad dādāhāra prithivīm viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavaty  
ekam eva | . . . 44. Akūmo dhīro amṛitaḥ svayambhūḥ rasena tripto  
na kuṭaschanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānam dhīram  
ajaram yuvānam |

A. V. x. 7, 7.—“Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom  
Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far  
did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle universe,  
comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? and how much  
of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha  
penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his  
receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member  
which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . 17. Those men  
who know Brahma (the divine essence) in the Male (*Puruṣa*), know  
him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshthin*): he who knows  
Parameshthin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

<sup>49</sup> I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense  
which is assigned to the word *vaṭasa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa,  
xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21. See also R. V. iv. 53, 5; and S'atap. Br. vi. 5, 2, 11;  
and the fifth volume of this work. v. 384. note.



Brāhmaṇa (divine mystery), they know Skambha. . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (brahmā) who knows them clearly, will be a knower. . . . 32. Reverence to that highest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head. . . . 35. Skambha established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambhā established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that highest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from austere fervour, has pervaded all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone. . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

. A. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. . . . 11. Whatever moves, flies, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—that omniform [entity] sustains the earth; that, combined, is one only. . . . 44. Knowing that Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, immortal, satisfied with the essence, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rīg-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Propper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, and Savitṛi.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

On the subject of this and the next sections compare the twenty-first section of the fifth volume of this work, pp. 350 ff.

SECT. II.—*Original non-entity; Prajāpati; primeval waters; mundane egg, etc., according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyana, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, etc.*

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—

*Asad vai idam agre āsit | tad āhuḥ 'kim tad asad āsit' iti | śishayo vāva  
 to 'agre asad āsit' tad āhuḥ | 'ko te śishayaḥ' iti | prāṇāḥ vai śishayas to  
 yat purā 'smāt sarvasmād idam' ichhantaḥ śramoṇa tapasā 'śisham tas-  
 mād śishayaḥ | 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇaḥ eśa evendrah | tān eśa  
 prāṇān madhyataḥ indriyena indha | yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho  
 ha vai tam Indrah ity achakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devās  
 to iddhāḥ sapta nānā puruṣhān asṛijantaḥ | 3. Te 'brāvaṇ "na vai  
 itthaṁ santaḥ śakṣyāmaḥ prajānayitum imān sapta puruṣhān ekam  
 puruṣhaṁ karavāma" iti to etān sapta puruṣhān ekam puruṣham  
 akurvan | yad urddhvaṁ nābhes tau devau samaubjan | yad avāṇ nābhes  
 tau devau | pakṣaḥ puruṣaḥ | pakṣaḥ puruṣaḥ | pratishṭhā ekaḥ  
 āsit | . . . . . 5. Sa eṣa puruṣaḥ Prajāpatir abhavat sa yaḥ sa  
 puruṣaḥ Prajāpatir abhavat ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniḥ<sup>50</sup> chigato |  
 6. Sa vai sapta-puruṣo bhavati | sapta-puruṣo hy ayam puruṣo  
 yach chatvāraḥ ātmā trayāḥ pakṣa-puchhāni | chatvāro hi tasya  
 puruṣasya ātmā trayāḥ pakṣa-puchhāni<sup>51</sup> | atha yad ekena puru-  
 ṣheṇa ātmānam vardhayati tena viryeṇa ayam ātmā pakṣa-puchhāni  
 udyachhati | . . . . . 8. So 'yam puruṣaḥ Prajāpatir akūmayata  
 'bhūyān syām prajāyeya' iti | so 'brūmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa  
 brūntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam asṛijata trayīm eva vidyām |  
 sa eva asmaḥ pratishṭhā 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya  
 pratishṭhā' iti | tasmād anūchya pratishṭhāti pratishṭhā hy eśā  
 yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito 'tapyata | 9. So  
 'po 'sṛijata echaḥ eva lokād vāg evāsyā sū 'sṛijata sū idam sarvam  
 āpnod yad idam kincha | yad āpnod tasmād āpaḥ<sup>52</sup> | yad avṛiṇot tasmād  
 vāḥ | 10. So 'kūmayata 'abhyo 'dbhyo 'dhi prajāyeya' iti so 'nayā trayyā  
 vidyayā saha āpaḥ prāviśat tataḥ āṇḍam samavartitā tad abhyamṛiśad  
 'astu' ity 'astu bhūyo 'stu' ity eva tad abravīt | tato brahma eva pra-  
 thamam asṛijata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya  
 prathamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt puruṣhād brahma eva pūrvā<sup>53</sup> asṛijata  
 tad asya tad mukham eva asṛijata | tasmād anūchānam āhur 'Agni-  
 kalpaḥ' iti | mukham hy etad Agner yad brahma |<sup>53</sup>*

<sup>50</sup> Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 21 (pp. 502-3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713). According to vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14, Agni is the son of Prajāpati.

<sup>51</sup> Comp. vi. 2, 2, 4, and 9.

<sup>52</sup> Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3; and vi. 1, 3, 1 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Compare Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 1 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 27 ff.

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], were worn out (*arishan*) with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra esoterically: for the gods love that which is esoterio. They [the gods] being kindled, created seven separate males (*purusha*). 3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate; so let us make these seven males one male.' So speaking, they made these seven males one male (*purusha*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] male [formed one] side; [another] male [another] side: and one formed the base. . . . 5. This [one] male became Prajāpati. The male who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven males (*purusha*): for this male is composed of seven males, since [four] make the soul, and three the sides and extremity (*lit.*, tail). For the soul of this male [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one male, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity [which are only equal to three]. . . . 8. This male (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I be multiplied, may I be developed.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation, <sup>54</sup> this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.<sup>55</sup> Speech belonged to him. It was

<sup>54</sup> This is illustrated by a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (p. 617), which says: *vāg vai ajo vācho vai prajāh Viśvakarmā jāyāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | *trayo lokāḥ ste eva | vāg evāyīm loko mano 'ntariksha-lokaḥ prūṇo 'sau lokāḥ* | "It is they which are the three

created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervaded (*apnot*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*apaḥ*); and because it covered (*avrinot*), it was called *vāḥ* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered<sup>55</sup> the waters. Thence an egg arose. He handled it. He said to it, 'let it become,' 'let it become,' 'let it be developed.' From it the Veda was first created,<sup>56</sup> the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Male, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth.'

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven males, occurs again in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1, and seems to be connected with the notion of Agni having the size of seven males. (See the commentary on Satap. Br. x. 2, 2, 1).—*Yān vai tān sapta puruṣhān ekam puruṣham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajāḥ asṛjāta | sa prajāḥ iṣiṣtvā ūrdhvaḥ udakrūmat | sa etān lokam agachhad yatra esha etat tapati | na ha tarhy anyāḥ etasmād atra yajniyaḥ ūsa tam devāḥ yajnenaiva yashtum adhriyanta | tasmād etad iṣiṣinā 'bhyanūktān 'yajnena yajnam ayajanta devāḥ ityādi* | "These seven males whom they made one male (*puruṣha*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where this scorches this. There was then no other being fit for sacrifice: the gods began to offer him with sacrifice. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods offered the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.<sup>57</sup>

II. In the preceding story, the gods are represented as the creators

worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the atmospheric world, and breath is that world (the sky)." Regarding the action of Vāc in the creation, compare Weber's Ind. Stud. ix. 477 f., and the passages quoted from him in the fifth volume of this work, p. 391 f.

<sup>55</sup> Compare A.V. x. 2, 7 | *sa ā varivarti bhuvamesho antar apo vasūnāḥ kaḥ u tach chiketa* | "He (Puruṣha) moves actively in the worlds, clothed with the waters: who has known this?"

<sup>56</sup> It had, however, been created before. See a few lines above.

<sup>57</sup> Compare Satap. Br. x. 2, 3, 18.—*Septavidho vai agre Prajāpatir asṛjyanta*. These words are repeated in x. 2, 4, 8.

of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, which he entered, and from which sprang the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff.—*Āpo ha vai idam agre salilam evāsa*<sup>66</sup> | *tāḥ akāmayanta 'katham nu prajāyemahi' iti tāḥ asrāmyaṁśe tās tapo 'tapyanta | tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍam oambābhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvatsaraḥ āca | tad idam hiraṇmayam āṇḍam yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā tāvat paryaplavata | 2. Tataḥ saṁvatsare puruṣaḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmād u saṁvatsare eva strī vā gaur vā vaḍabā vā vijayate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ājāyata | sa idam hiraṇmayam āṇḍam vyarujat | na aha tarhi kūchana pratishṭhā āsa | tad enam idam eva hiraṇmayam āṇḍam yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā āsit tāvad bibhrat paryaplavata*<sup>67</sup> | 3. *Sa saṁvatsare vyājīkṛtāḥ | sa 'bhū'* iti *vyāharat sū iyam prihivoy abhavad*<sup>68</sup> *'bhūvaḥ' iti tad idam antarikṣham abhavat 'avar' iti eā asau dyaur abhavat tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kumāro vyājīkṛtāḥ saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . 6. Sa sahasrāyur jāno | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpāsyed evam vasyāyushaḥ pāram pardachakhyau | 7. So 'rchan brāmyaṁśe chaḥhāra prajākūmah |*

<sup>66</sup> S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasya āpaḥ eva pratishṭhā | apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ* | "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (= Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 974).—*Āpaḥ evādam agre āsuḥ | tāḥ āpaḥ satyam asṛjanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devān* | "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods." Compare Taitt. Saṁh. vii. 1, 6, 1 ff.; Taitt. Br. i. 1, 3, 6 ff.; and Taitt. Āraṇy. i. 23, 1 ff. quoted in pp. 31 and 52 f. of vol. i. this work. To the same effect is Taitt. Saṁh. v. 7, 6, 3, *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsit*. The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: *yā 'rṇave 'dhi salilam agre āsit yām māyābhir anvacharan manishikāḥ* | "That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the asgas followed after by their divine power," etc. R. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the "divine first-born waters" (*āpo devīḥ prathamajāḥ*). The S'atap. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (*ayam vai samudro yo 'yam pavate | tasmād vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni samudhravanti* |

<sup>67</sup> *Tasya Prajāpater āpadaṁ kimapi na bābhūva sa cha nirādharatvāt sthātum adakṣuṇam idam eva bhinnam hiraṇmayāṇḍam punaḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam bibhrat dhārāyan tāv evāpsu paryaravat* | "There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters." Commentary.

<sup>68</sup> Compare vol. iii. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 101, 104, and S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa iii. 4, 11, p. 141.

sa ātmany eva prajātim aśṛatta ā āyenaiva devān aśṛijata | te devāḥ divaṁ abhipadya aśṛijyanta tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad divam abhipadya aśṛijyanta | tasmai aśṛijānāya divā iva āsa<sup>61</sup> | tad eva devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad asmai aśṛijānāya divā iva āsa | 8. Atha yo 'yam avāṇ prāṇas tena asurān aśṛijata | te imān eva prithivīm abhipadya aśṛijyanta | tasmai aśṛijānāya tamaḥ iva āsa | 9. So 'poṭ "pāpmānaṁ vai aśṛikṣhi yasmai me aśṛijānāya tamaḥ iva abhūd" iti | tāṁs tātaḥ eva pāpmanā 'vidhyat | te tataḥ eva parābhavan | . . . . 14. Tāḥ vai etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ aśṛijyanta Agnir Indraḥ<sup>62</sup> Somaḥ Parameshṭhi prajāpatyaḥ | . . . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravīd ityādi |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a male (*puruṣa*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered 'bhūr,' which became this earth; 'bhuvaḥ,' which became this firmament; and 'svar,' which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created on reaching heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were created, on reaching heaven (*divam*). To ~~him~~ while he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight (*divā*). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to

<sup>61</sup> *Divā iva āsa* | *ākāśaḥ iva babhūva* | Comm. Comp. Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, translated in the first volume of this work, p. 30.

<sup>62</sup> In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned. See, however, the fifth volume of this work, where this subject is referred to.

create, it became, as it were, daylight. 8. Then from this lower breath he created the Asuras. They were created when they reached this world. To him, when creating, darkness, as it were, appeared. 9. He knew: 'I have created evil, since as I was creating, darkness, as it were, appeared.' He then pierced them with evil; and they in consequence were overcome . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati,—Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshthīn, son of Prajāpati. . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhândogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): *Ādityo Brahma ity ādesaḥ | tasyoparyākhyānam | asad eva idam agre āsit | tat sad āsit | tat samabhavat | tad āṇḍam niravarttata | tat saṃvatsarasya mātṛm asayata | tad nirabhidhata | to āṇḍa-kapāle rajataṃ cha suvarṇaṃ cha abhavatām | tad yad rajataṃ sū iyam pṛithivī yat suvarṇaṃ sū dyaur yaj jarūyu<sup>63</sup> | to parvatāḥ yad ulkā<sup>64</sup> sa megho nīhāro<sup>65</sup> yāḥ dhamanayas<sup>66</sup> tāḥ nāḍyo yad vāsteyam<sup>67</sup> udakam sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas taṃ jāyamānam ghoshāḥ ulūlavo<sup>68</sup> 'nudatishṭhan ['nūdatishṭhan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyūyanam<sup>69</sup> prati ghoshāḥ ulūlavo 'nutishṭhanti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ |* which is thus translated by Babu Rajendralal Mitra: "The sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of 'ulu-ulu'], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day]

<sup>63</sup> *Garbha-veśṭhanam sthūlam* | Comm.

<sup>64</sup> *Sūkṣhmaṃ garbha-pariveśṭhanam* | Comm.

<sup>65</sup> *Avatyūyah* (frost) | Comm.

<sup>66</sup> *S'irāḥ* | Comm.

<sup>67</sup> *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam* | Comm. "Abdominal," Wilson.

<sup>68</sup> *Ururago vīstīrṇa-ravāḥ udatishṭhan utthitavantaḥ* |

<sup>69</sup> *Pratyasta-gamanam . . . athavā punaḥ punaḥ pratyūgamanam*

of the sun, arise shouts off 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vai rūpaṁ kṛtvā Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ aśrijata | yad aśrijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | Kāśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ 'sarvaḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapyah' iti | sa yah sa kūrmo 'sau sa Ādityaḥ |* "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *kūrma*. Kāśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kāśyapa.'<sup>70</sup> This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

In the later mythology it is Viṣṇu who assumes the form of a tortoise :

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Viṣṇu's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhīm mathnatām mathanūchalām | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa prithiṣṭhe ekādāse vibhuḥ |* "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "*Iyaty agre āsīd*" (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyatt ha vai iyam agre prithivī āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tām Emuṣaḥ iti varāhaḥ<sup>71</sup> ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatiḥ tenaita enam etanmithunena priyena dhūmnā<sup>72</sup> samardhayati kṛtinaṁ karoti ityādi |*

"'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this

<sup>70</sup> Kāśyapa is mentioned in the A. V. xix. 53, 10 (see the fifth volume of this work, p. 408); as well as in two rather obscure verses of the Sāma-veda, which do not occur in the Rigveda. The first is i. 90: *Jātaḥ pareṇa dharmajā yai sātṛidbhīḥ sahābhwaḥ | pitā yat Kāśyapasyāgniḥ S'raddhā matā Manuḥ kaviḥ |* "Since with thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is the father, Faith (S'raddhā) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kāśyapa." The second is i. 361: *Kāśyapasya svarvido yāv āhuḥ sayujāve iti | yayoḥ viśvām api vrataṁ yajnaṁ dhīrūḥ nichūyā |* "Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the companions of the heavenly Kāśyapa; to whom twain [they declare] the entire power (or ceremonial) and sacrifice to belong."

<sup>71</sup> See R. V. viii. 66, 10.

<sup>72</sup> In regard to these words compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 4, 20.



earth was only so large, of the size of a spa<sup>15</sup>. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him with this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc. Compare the passages from the Taittirīya Sanhitā and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc., quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 52 ff., and 181 ff.; and also the fifth volume of this work, pp. 390 ff.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (*varāheṇa kṛishṇeṇa śata-bāhūnā uddhṛitā*).

I quote some further texts from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, p. 26).

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ evāsa | sa aikṣata 'katham nu prajāyeya' iti | so 'brāmyat sa tapo 'tap-yata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayānchakre ityādi* | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth." Compare the passages quoted in the first vol. of this work, pp. 24, 69 ff.; in volume third, p. 4; and in volume fifth, pp. 390, ff.

In the next passage he is identified with Dakṣa: <sup>16</sup>

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir ha vai etenāgre yaj-neneja prajākāmō 'bahuh prajāyā pakubhiḥ syām śriyaṁ gachheyaṁ yaśaḥ syām annādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Dakṣo nāma ityādi* | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Dakṣa."

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Viṣṇu): *Prajāpatir vai bhārataḥ sa hi idam sarvaṁ bibhartti* | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above p. 12).

<sup>16</sup> In R. V. i. 96, 8, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtō prajāḥ bibhartti taṁnād esha bhārataḥ* | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuvanaśya goptā*).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir akāmayata 'ubhau lokāu abhijayeyam deva-lokancha manushya-lokancha' ityādi* | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and that of men," etc. Comp. Satap. Br., x. 2, 1, 1.

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, Puruṣha Nārāyaṇa is introduced: *Puruṣo ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyaṁ sarvāni bhūtāny aham eva idam sarvaṁ syām' iti* | *sa etam puruṣha-medham pancha-rātram yajnakratum apaśyat tam āharat tena ayajata tena iṣṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idam sarvaṁ abhavat* | *atitishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idam sarvaṁ bhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān puruṣha-medhena yujate yo vai etad evaṁ veda* |

"Puruṣha Nārāyaṇa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called 'puruṣha-medha' (human sacrifice) lasting five nights. He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the 'puruṣha-medha,'—he who so knows this." The Puruṣha-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted. Comp. Satap. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In Satap. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahma vai idam agre āsīt* | *tad devān arījata* | *tad devān iṣṭvā eshu lokeshu vyūrohayaḥ asminn eva loka'gniṁ Vāyūm antarikṣhe divy eva Sūryam* | "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky." This passage is quoted at greater length in vol. v. of this work, p. 387 ff. Comp. the other passages quoted in pp. 378–390, and Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, cited in p. 361, note, of the same volume; and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv., 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 235).

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1, Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma vai svayamōhu tapo 'tapyata* | *tad aikṣhata*

'*na vai tapasya dñantyaṃ asti hanta-āham bhūteshu ātmānaṃ juhavāni bhūtāni cha ātmani*' iti | *tat sarveshu bhūteshu ātmānaṃ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshaṃ bhūtānāṃ śraishṭhyaṃ svārājyaṃ ādhipatyam paryait | tathaiṃ etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedho sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāni bhūtāni śraishṭhyaṃ svārājyaṃ ādhipatyam paryeti* | "The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91). Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the 'sarvamedha' (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion."''<sup>76</sup> See also Śatap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2 f., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 372, note 554.

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on R. V. x. 129, and the passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, given above (pp. 20 ff.), or some other ancient sources of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines :

*Āsīd idam tamobhūtam aprajñatam alakṣaṇam | apratarkyam avijñeyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ | 6. Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān aryakto cayanjayann idam | mahābhūtādi vṛttaujāḥ prāduraśīt tamonudaḥ | 7. Yo 'sāv atīndriya-grāhyaḥ sūkṣmo 'vyaktaḥ sanātanaḥ | sarva-bhūtamayo 'chintyaḥ sa eva svayam udbabhau | 8. So 'bhidyāya śarīrāt evāt śīṣikṣhur cividhāḥ prajāḥ | apaḥ eva sasarjādau tāsu vijam atārjijāt | 9. Tad andam abhavad haimaṃ sahasrāṃśu-samaprabham | tasmīn jāno svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārāḥ iti proktūḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvaṃ tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | 11. Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṃ nityaṃ sadasadātmaṇ | tad-viśiṣṭaḥ sa puruṣo loka Brahmēti kīrtiyate | 12. Tasmīn ande sa bhagavān uṣhītvā parivat-saram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad andam akarod dvīdā | 13. tābhyaṃ sa śakalābhyāncha divam bhūmincha nirmame | madhye vyoma dīśā cha-śṭāv apāṃ śhūnāṃ cha śūśvataṃ |*

5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undis-

<sup>76</sup> See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 9 f.).

tinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtle, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He, desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' because they are the offspring of Nara; and since they were formerly the place of his movement (*ayana*), he is therefore called Nārāyaṇa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*puruṣa*) is known in the world as Brahmā. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9-11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of *Vishṇu*.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: '*Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimam*' iti | *tad vijam Paramēśvarechhayā haimam aṇḍam abhavad haimam iva haimam buddhi-guṇa-yogād na tu haimam eva* | *tadīyaika-sakalena bhūmi-nirmāṇasya rakṣyamānatvād bhūmeśchāhaimatvasya pratyakṣatvād upachārāśrayaṇam . . . . . tasmīn anḍe Hiranyagarbho jātaḥ | yena pūrva-janmani 'Hiranyagarbho 'ham aṣmi' iti bhēdābheda-bhāvanayā Paramēśvaropāśanā kṛitā tadīyam liṅga-sarīrāvachhinna-jīvam anupraviśya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiranyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtaḥ* | "That [seed] became a golden egg,' etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, i.e. as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here intended. . . . In that egg Hiranyagarbha was produced: i.e. entering into the living soul,—invested with a subtle body,—of that person

by whom in a former birth the Deity was worshipped, with the contemplation of distinctness and identity expressed in the words, 'I am Hiranyagarbha,' the supreme Spirit himself became manifested in the form of Hiranyagarbha."

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivaṁśa, vv. 35 ff. : *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān śīrīkṣhur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apaḥ eva saśarjā-  
dau tāsu vijam avāśrijat | āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ |  
ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrvam tena nārāyanaḥ smṛitāḥ | hiranyavarṇam  
abhavat tad aṇḍam udakśayam | tatra jajñe svayam Brahmā svayambhūr  
iti naḥ śrutam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān ushītvā parivatsaram | tad  
aṇḍam akarod dvaidhaṁ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor  
madhye ākāśam aśrijat prabhūḥ | apsu pūriplavām pṛithivīm diśascha  
daśadhū dadhe |*

"Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures, first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' for they are the offspring of Nara. They were formerly the place of his movement; hence he is called 'Nārāyana.' That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard. The divine Hiranyagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two shells, the Lord created the æther, and the earth floating about on the waters, and placed the regions in ten directions."

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the production of Hiranyagarbha:

Harivaṁśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-sraśṭu-manūḥ devaś chintayāmāsa  
pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥṣṛitāḥ puruṣaḥ kila | tataḥ sa  
puruṣo devaṁ kiṁ karomīty upaśthitāḥ | pratyuvācha imitaṁ kṛitvā  
deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktvā gato 'natarāḥ  
īśvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya saśarīrasya bhūsvataḥ | pradīpasyeta  
sūntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritām vānīm so 'nvachintayata  
prabhūḥ | "Hiranyagarbho bhagavān yaḥ eṣa chhandaśa stutaḥ | ekaḥ  
prajāpatiḥ pūrvam abhavad bhuvanādhipaḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti tasyādya  
yajña-bhāgo vidhīyate | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktaś tenāsmi sumahātmanā |  
katham ātmā vibhajyaḥ syāt stūṣayo hy atra me mahān" |*

"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*puruṣa*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken, the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiraṇyagarbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. "Divide thyself,"—thus have I been commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.' " Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 13 f., to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore, and essentially with the Bombay, editions), thus describes the origin of the world:

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imāṃ loka-samutpattiṃ loka-nūcha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṃ salilam evāṣīt prithivī yatra nirmita* |<sup>76</sup> *tataḥ samabharat Brahmā svayambhūr dairataḥ saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā prōjjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛjachecha jagat sarvaṃ saha putraḥ kṛitātmanubliḥ* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam aryaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajo Marīcheḥ Kāśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Vivasrān Kāśyapāj jajo Manuḥ Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ* | *sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ūyādi* |

Vaśiṣṭha says: "Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities. 4. He then, becoming a boar,<sup>77</sup> raised up the earth, and created the whole world with the saints, his sons. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kāśyapa. 6. From Kāśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>77</sup> Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 27.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the Gauda recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Vishṇu; and this I regard as one proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Sehlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ śalīlam erāṣīt rasuḍhā yena nirmītā* | *tataḥ samabharat Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇur aryayaḥ* | 4. *Sa varāho 'tha bhūtremām ijjahāra rasuḍharām* | *aṣṭijache jagat sarvaṁ sacharācharam avyayam* | 5. *Ākāśa-vrabhavo Brahmā sāsṛato nityam aryayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutatḥ* | 6. *Tataḥ paryāya-sargena Vivasvān aṣṭijad Manuṁ ityādi* |

"Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Viṣṇu*. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, *morable and immovable, imperishable*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu," etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the third śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz. *Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*," is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇur avyayaḥ*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Viṣṇu*," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Viṣṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Sehlegel's recension, at the close of the fourth śloka, viz. *saha putraiḥ kṛitātmanibhiḥ*, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam avyayam*, "*morable and immovable, and imperishable*"—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Viṣṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Viṣṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is.

Compare with the fifth verse of the passage before us (in Sehlegel's text), the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff.; quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 64 f. The accounts of Brahmā's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Mann, i. 32 ff., and Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 35 ff., and 64 f., of vol. i.

The origin of the world is similarly described in the Mahābhārata xii. 6805 f.

*Bhṛigur uvācha | Prajā-visargaṁ vividham Mānaso manasā 'sṛjāt |  
saṁrakṣaṇārtham bhūtānāṁ sṛṣṭam prathamato jalam | yaḥ prajāḥ  
sarva-bhūtānāṁ vardhante yena cha prajāḥ | parityaktās cha naśyanti  
tenedaṁ sarvam āvṛitam | prithirī parvatūḥ meghāḥ mūrtimantaś cha ye  
'pare | sarvaṁ tad vārunaṁ jneyam āpaḥ tastambhiro yataḥ | . . .  
Brahmakalpe purā brahman brahmarṣiṇāṁ samāgame | loka-sambha-  
ra-sandehaḥ samutpanno mahātmanām | To 'tishṭhan dhyānam ālambya  
maunam āsthūya niśchalāḥ | tyaktāhārāḥ parana-pāḥ divyaṁ varsha-  
śatam deijāḥ | teshāṁ Brahmamayī rūṇī sarvashāṁ śrotram āgamat |  
diryā Sarasvatī tota sambabhūva nabhasatāt | purā stimitam ākāśam  
anantam achalopamam | naśṭa-chandrārka-pavanam prasuptam iva  
sambabhau | tataḥ salilam utpannam tamasivāparaṁ tamah | tasmāch cha  
valilotpīḍād udatishṭhata mārutaḥ |*

"Bhṛigu says: Mānasa<sup>78</sup> (the Intellectual) formed by a mental effort the varied creation of living beings. For the preservation of creatures water was first produced,—water which is the breath of all creatures, by which they grow, and forsaken by which they die:—by it all things were covered. The earth, the mountains, the clouds, and other material objects;—all these things must be understood as aqueous, because the waters supported them." Bharadvāja asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bhṛigu replies: "Formerly, in an assemblage of Brāhman rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds, as to the production of the worlds. "These Brāhmins continued fixed in meditation and in silence, eating no food, drinking in only air, for a hundred years of the gods. A voice, of the essence of Brahmā, reached the ears of them all: the divine Sarasvatī

<sup>78</sup> This word is defined in v. 6775: *Mānaso nāma yaḥ pūro vidūto vai maharṣi-  
bhīḥ | anūdi-nidhano devas tathā 'bhedyo 'jarāmarah |* "The primeval god, without  
beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and  
called by great rishis Mānasa," etc.



sprang forth from the heavens.' Formerly<sup>79</sup> the infinite ether, motionless, like a mountain,—moon, sun and air having been destroyed in it,—appeared as it were asleep. Then water was produced like another darkness (*tamas*) in darkness, and from the foam of that water arose air."

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahmā, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to Brahmā, is in works of a later date represented as the act of Viṣṇu. The first passage forms a part of the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: *Dvītiyaṁ tu bhavāyāsya rasā-tala-gatām mahim | uddharishyann upādatta yajñeśaḥ saukaraṁ vapuḥ* | "Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar."

The second passage to be adduced is from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 57 ff. of Wilson's English trans., Dr. Hall's ed., vol. i.), and has been already partly quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 50 f.:

*Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo 'sau kalpāḍau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchakṣhva mahāmune*<sup>79</sup> | *Parāśaraḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakḥ | prajāpati-patir dero yathā tan me niśāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne niśa-suptotthitāḥ prabhuḥ | sattrodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaiśkata | Nārāyaṇaḥ puro 'chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuḥ | Bruhma-svarūpī bhaga-*

<sup>79</sup> I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 44 of Wilson's trans. in Dr. Hall's ed. vol. i.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which, if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreyaḥ uvācha | nirṇāsyāpṛameyasya śuddhāsyūpy amātānmanāḥ | katham sargādīkanīttitram Iṣṭhmano 'bhyupapadyate | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām achintya-jñāna-gocarāḥ | yato 'to Bruhmaṇas tās tu sargādyaḥ bhāva-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreṣṭhā pūṇikasya yatishoshmatā* | "Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahmā, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers. Since powers which could not be imagined [?] are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, O chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahma, as heat is an attribute of fire." Dr. Hall translates differently. See his note. Can the proper reading be *achintyāḥ* in place of *achintya*?

*rān anūdīḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | toyāntaḥ sa mahīm jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave  
prabhūḥ | anumānād tad-uddhārāṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot  
sa tanūm anyōm kalpādīṣhu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikām tadvad  
vārāhaṁ vapur āśhṛitāḥ | veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam āśeṣa-jagataḥ  
sthitaḥ | sthitaḥ sthīrātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-  
gataiḥ siddhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṛjtaḥ | praviveśa tada toyam ātmā-  
dhīro dharādharuḥ | nirīkṣhya taṁ tadā devī pātūla-talam āgatam |  
tushṭāva prajātiḥ bhūtvā bhakti-namrā rasundharā | Pṛithvy uvācha |  
Namaste sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṁ śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddhar-  
āsmād adya tvāṁ tvatto 'ham pūrvam utthitā | . . . sambhakṣhayitvā  
sakalām jagaty ekārṇavīkṛite | śeṣe tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno  
manīṣibhiḥ | bhavato yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tan na jānāti kaśchana | avatār-  
eṣhu yad rūpaṁ tad archanti divaukasaḥ | tvām ārūdhya paraṁ Brahma  
yātūḥ muktīm mumukṣavaḥ | Tāsudevam anārūdhya ko mokṣaṁ sama-  
vāpsyati | . . . tvāṁ yajnas tvāṁ vāśaṭkūras tvam oṁkūras tvam  
agnayaḥ | . . . Evaṁ samstūyamānas tu Pṛithivyā pṛithivī-dharaḥ |  
nāma-svara-dhvanīḥ śrīmān jagurjja parighurgharam | tataḥ samutkshipyu  
dharāṁ sa daṁṣṭrayā mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-padma-lochanaḥ | rasātālād  
utpala-patra-sannibhaḥ samutthito nilaḥ ivāchalo mahān | . . . evaṁ  
samstūyamānas tu Paramātmā mahādharuḥ | ujjahāra mahīm kṣipraṁ  
nyastavāṁś cha mahāmbhaḥ | tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva  
sthitā | vilatatvāt tu dehasya na mahi yāti samplavam |*

“Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivansā, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form. As he had formerly, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. (so now), entering

the body of a boar,—a form composed of the Vedas and of sacrifice, —the lord of creatures, who throughout the entire continuance of the world remains fixed, the universal soul, the 'supreme soul, the self-sustained, the supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints residing in the Janaloka, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, bowing down, prostrated in devotion, sang his praise: 'Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou assumest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the oṃkāra, thou art the fire.' . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up, resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain. . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to some of the materials and implements of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, 2nd ed., i., pp. 63 ff.] . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk."<sup>80</sup> See also the Mahābhārata iii. 10932 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishnu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the first volume of this work, pp. 196 ff.); towards the conclusion of which, xv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athūbravīd anuśishas tūn ṛishīn sa hitas tadā | aham Prajāpatiḥ Brahmā yat-parāṃ nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyaucho mayā 'smād mokṣitūḥ bhayāt |* "Then the god (iii. the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish

The Linga Purāṇa, however, which is of the Śaiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Viṣṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvare-jangame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇaḥ iti smṛitaḥ | sarvavy-anṣe prabuddho vai drishṭvā śunyaṁ charācharam | sraśṭuṁ tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | udakair āplutāṁ kṣmāṁ tām samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpaṁ ūsthitaḥ |* "In the night, when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

[In Böhrling and Roth's Lexicon, s. v. *varāha*, reference is made to a further passage from the Taitt. S. vi. 2, 42, in which the boar is mentioned (see above, pp. 27 f.). I quote this with another story which follows it: *Yajno devebhyo nilāyata Viṣṇurūpaṁ kṛtvā | sa prithivīm praviśat | taṁ devāḥ hastān samrabhya uichhan | tam Indroḥ upary upary aty akramat | so 'bravīt "ko mā 'yam upary upary aty akramāt" iti | "aham durge hantā" iti | atha "kas team" iti | "aham durgād āhartā" iti | so 'bravīt "durge vai hantā avocathāḥ | varāho 'yam vāmamohaḥ saptānām giriṇām parastād vittuṁ vedyam*

you have been delivered from this danger.'" Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur. (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity ukto Viṣṇurūteṇa bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvācha charitāṁ Viṣṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛtam | Śukah uvācha | . . . . 7. āsīt atīta-kalpānte Brāhmaṇo namittiko luyah | samudh opaplūtās tati a lokāḥ bhūrūdyo nṛpa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātūḥ śisayishor | mukhato niḥśṛitān vedāṇ Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jñātā tad danavendrasya Hayagrīvasya chesṭitam | dadhūra sapharirūpaṁ bhagavān Hurir īraraḥ ityūdi |* "Being thus addressed by Viṣṇurūta, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Viṣṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Śuka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Viṣh. Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 113; vol. v., p. 186); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this deed of Hayagrīva, chief of the Danavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a sapharī fish," etc.

*Asurāṇām bibharti taṁ jahi yaśi yurḡe hantā 'si' iti | sa dardha-  
pungilam udvrihya sapta girin bhittvā taṁ ahaṁ | so 'bravīd "durgād  
vai āhartā avocathāḥ | etam āhara" iti | taṁ śhyo yajnaḥ eva yajnam  
āharat | yat tad vittaṁ vedyam asurāṇām avindanta tad ekaṁ vedyai  
veditvam | Asurāṇām vai iyaṁ agre āsit | yātad āsinaḥ parūpaśyati  
tāvad devānām | te devāḥ abruvann "astv eva no 'syām api" iti |  
"Kiyad vo dāsyāmaḥ" ii | yāvād iyaṁ salāvrikī triḥ parikrāmati  
tāvan no datta" iti | sa Indrāḥ salāvrikī-rūpaṁ kṛtvā imām triḥ sarva-  
tāḥ paryakrāmat | tad imām avindanta | yad imām avindanta tad vedyai  
veditvam | sū vai iyaṁ sarvā eva vedīḥ |*

"The sacrifice, assuming the form of Vishṇu, disappeared from among the gods, and entered into the earth. The gods joined hands, and searched for him. Indrā passed over above him. He (Vishṇu) said, 'Who is this who has passed over above me?' (Indra replied :) 'I am he who slays in a castle, but now who art thou?' (Vishṇu said :) 'I am he who carries off from a castle.' He (Vishṇu) said : 'Thou hast said a *slayer in a castle*. This boar, the plunderer of wealth, keeps the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Kill him, if thou art a *slayer in a castle*.' He (Indra), plucking up a bunch of Kuśa grass, pierced through the seven hills, and slew him. He (Indra) then said : 'Thou hast said *I am he who carries off from a castle* ; so carry him off.' He (Vishṇu), the sacrifice, carried off the sacrifice for them. Inasmuch as they obtained (*avindanta*) these goods of the Asuras, this is one reason why the altar is called *vedi*.

"This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, whilst the gods had only as much as a man can see when sitting. They (the gods) said, 'Let us have a share in this earth also?' 'How much shall we give you?' (asked the Asuras). 'As much as this she-jackal can go round in three (steps).' Indra, assuming the form of a she-jackal, stepped all round the earth in three (strides). Thus the gods obtained (*avindanta*) it. And from this circumstance the altar derives its name of *vedi*."

Compare the various stories about the original position of the gods in reference to the Asuras, given above, and in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 15, note].

To return to the mundane egg. In the Vishnu Purāṇa i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sāṅkhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms here the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purāṇas would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with the current philosophical speculations: *Ākūśarāyu-tejāṃsi salilam prithivī tathā | śabdādibhir guṇair brahman saṁyuktāny uttarottaraiḥ | śāntāḥ ghorāś cha mūḍhāś cha viśeṣhāś tena te smṛitāḥ | nūnārīryyāḥ prithag-bhūtāś tatas te saṁkhatīm vinā | nāśa-knuvan prajāḥ sraśtūm asaṁgāmya kritśnāśaḥ | sametyānyonya-saṁyogam paraśpara-saṁāśrayāḥ | eka-saṅghāta-lakṣhyāś cha saṁprāpyaikyam aśeṣhataḥ | Puruṣhādhiśṭhitatvūḥ cha Pradhānānugraheṇa cha | mahadādayo viśeṣhāntāḥ aṇḍam utpādayanti te | tat krameṇa viriḍdhaṁ tu jala-budbuda-rat samam | bhūtebhyo 'ṇḍam mahābuddhe vṛihat tad udake śayam | prākṛitam Brahma-rūpasya Viśṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam | tatṛavyakta-srarūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpī jagat-patiḥ | Viśṇur Brahma-srarūpeṇa svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyus cha mahādharaḥ | garbhodakam samudrāś cha tasyūsan samahātmanah | sādri-dvīpa-samudrāś cha saṁyotir loka-saṅgrahaḥ | tasmīnn aṇḍe 'bhavad vipra sa-devāśura-mānushaḥ | vāri-raṅgy-anilākūśaiś tato bhūlādīnā rahiḥ | vṛitam daśagunair aṇḍam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | aryaktenūcṛito brahmaṁś taiḥ sarraiḥ sahito mahān | ebhir āvaranair aṇḍam saptaḥṣiḥ prākṛitair vṛitam | nārikela-phalasyāntar vījaṁ vūhya-dalair iva | jushan rajo-guṇāṁ tatra svayam viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtvā 'sya jagato viśiṣṭau sampravarttate |*

"Ether, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,<sup>81</sup> but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, being dependent upon each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an

<sup>81</sup> See Wilson's Sāṅkhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishnu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 38 ff.

entire unity,—being presided over by Puruṣha (spirit) and favoured by Pradhāna (matter), these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Viṣṇu in the form of Brahmā. There, undiscernible in his essence, Viṣṇu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, O Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, ether, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way 'Ahankāra' was invested by 'Mahat'; and Mahat with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Huri, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world."

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc., etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: *Mahadādi-viśeshāntāḥ hy aṇḍam utpādayanti chu | jala-bud-buda-vat tasmāt avatīrṇaḥ Pitāmahaḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Viṣṇur viśvagataḥ prabhuḥ | tasminn aṇḍe tu ime lokāḥ antar viśvam idaṁ jagat | aṇḍam daśa-guṇaiva nabhāś cāhyato vṛitam | ākāśaś cāvr̥ṇitaś tadvad ahankāreṇa śabdajāḥ | mahatū śabda-hetur vai pradhānenāvṛitaḥ svayam | saptaṇḍāvaranāny āhuḥ tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koṭy-ayutāny atra chāṇḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturvaktṛāḥ Brahmāṇo Harayo Bhavāḥ | śriṣṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā Śāmbhōstu sannidhiṁ ityādi |*

"And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parout [of the universe], who was the same as divine Rudra, and Viṣṇu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold ether; in like manner, the ether, sprung from sound, was surrounded by 'ahankāra';

the cause of sound (*ahankāra*) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalāsana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are declared (to exist), in which four-faced Brahmins, Haris, and Bhavas (Sivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Sambhu (Siva)."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an inquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world :

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreyaḥ uvācha | Daivena durvitarkyeṇa pareṇānimishheṇa cha | jātakshobhād bhagavato mahān asid guṇa-trayāt |* 13. *Rajaḥ-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt | jātāḥ sasarjū bhūtādir viyadādīni panchasaḥ |* 14. *Tūni chaikaikaśaḥ sraśtūm asaṁarthāni bhautikam | saṁhatya daiva-yogena haimam aṇḍam avāsrjan |* 15. *So 'śayishṭābhi-salile aṇḍa-kosho nirātmakeḥ | sāgraṁ vai varsha-sāhasram anavātsīt tam tīsurasḥ |* 16. *Tanya nābher abhūt padmān sahasrārkorudīdhiti | sarva-jīva-nikāyaṅko yatra srayam abhūt Svarāt |* 17. *So 'nurishṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śete salilāśaye | loka-saṁsthāṁ yathā-pūrvam nirmame saṁsthayā svayā |*

"Maitreya said :

12. "The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (*bhūtādi* or *ahankāra*), characterized by the three qualities (*guṇas*), created the ether and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where Svarāt (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (*saṁsthā*) of the worlds with his own substance."

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book :

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: *Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni sapta*



vai | kāla-karma-guṇopeto jagadādī<sup>6</sup>.upāviśet | 51. Tatas tenānuvid-  
dhebh<sup>7</sup>yo [kṣubhitebh<sup>8</sup>yaḥ, Comm.] yuktēbh<sup>9</sup>yo 'ṇḍam achetanam | utīhitam  
Puruṣo yasmād udatiśṭhād asau Virāt | 52. Etad aṇḍam viśeṣhākhyam  
krama-vṛiddhair dasottaraiḥ | toyādibhiḥ parivṛitam pradhānenāvṛitair  
vahiḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yaṁ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ | 53. Hiraṇ-  
mayād aṇḍa-koshād utthāya solīle-śyāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā  
nirbībheda kham [chhidram, Comm.] 54. Nirabhid<sup>10</sup>yatāsyā prathamam  
mukham vāg<sup>11</sup>ī tato 'bharad ityādi |

50. "When these seven principles, Mahat and the rest, remained un-  
combined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them,  
united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these  
principles penetrated by him, and combined, there arose a lifeless egg,  
from which sprang Puruṣa, viz. that Virāt. 52. This egg, named  
Viśeṣha (the specific) was surrounded by water, and other elements  
gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their  
turn were externally invested by Pradhāna. In this egg [was formed]  
this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Huri. 53.  
Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing  
upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures.  
54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued," etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same  
Purāṇa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a  
verse or two of the passage.

34. Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-  
svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīrayat | 35. Sa eva puruṣas tasmād aṇḍam  
nirbhid<sup>12</sup>ya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-anghri-bāhu-akṣaḥ sahasrānana-śiṣhacūṇ |

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing  
in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the  
water. 35. Splitting the egg, Puruṣa issued forth with a thousand  
thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same  
work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: Puruṣo 'ṇḍam vinirbhid<sup>13</sup>ya yadā 'dru sa  
vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichkann apo 'srākakṣhch chhuchih<sup>14</sup> śuchih<sup>15</sup> |  
tāsv avātāt svasrīṣṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma  
yad āpaḥ puruṣodbhavāḥ |

10. "When, splitting the egg, Puruṣa first issued from it, seeking

a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Puruṣa."

The story about Brahmā's incestuous passion for his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4, 1 ff.<sup>82</sup>—*Prajāpatiḥ ha vai svām duhitaram abhidadyau divaṁ vā ushasāṁ vā 'mithunā enayā syām' iti taṁ sambabhūva* | 2. *Tad vai devānāṁ āgaḥ āsa 'yaḥ itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti' iti* | 3. *Te ha devūḥ ūchur 'yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśunām īṣṭe' tisandhaṁ vai ayaṁ chardti yaḥ itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti vidhya imam' iti* | *taṁ Rudro 'bhyāyatya viryādha tasya sūmi retāḥ praachaskanda tatā id nūnāṁ tad āsa* | 4. *Tasmād etad rishiṇā 'bhyānūktam 'pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan kshmayā retāḥ sanjagmāno nishinchad' iti tad āgni-mūrutam ity ukthaṁ tasmīns tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devāḥ retāḥ prajānayan | teshāṁ yudā devānāṁ krodho vyad atha Prajāpatim abhishajyaṁs tasya taṁ śalyaṁ nirakṛintan | sa vai yajnaḥ eva Prajāpatiḥ* |

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: '[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said: 'This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra aimed at, and pierced, him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 4. Accordingly this has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father embracing his daughter, uniting with her, discharged his seed on the earth,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow. Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred

<sup>82</sup> See the passages from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa on the same subject, with the remarks subjoined, in the first vol. of this work, pp. 107 ff.

to in the preceding legend, which refers apparently to some atmospheric phenomenon. It is hard to say what gods or powers of nature are denoted by the father and the daughter respectively,<sup>83</sup> and the passage is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyana's comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The 4th verse is addressed to the Aśvins. The commentator regards verses 5-7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (*Yathā svāmśena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asṛijat tad etad-ādibhir tisṛibhir vadati.*)

R. V. x. 61, 4: \* *Krishnā yad goṣhu aruṇiṣhu śṛdad divo napātā Aśvinā huve rām | vītam me yajnam āgatam me annaṁ vṛanvūṁsā na isham asmṛita-dhrū |* 5. *Prathishṭa yasya vīrakarmam iṣṇad anuṣṭhitāṁ nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad āṛṣhati yat kanūyūḥ duhitur āḥ anubhṛitam anarvū |* 6. *Madhyā yat kartram abharad abhīke kāmāṁ kṛṇvāne pitari yuvatyām | manānag reto jahatur riyantū sīnau nishiktaṁ sukṛitasya yonau*<sup>84</sup> | 7. *Pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan kshnayā retāḥ sanjagmāno nishinchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma derūḥ vāstoshpatiṁ vṛatapāṇ nira-takshan |*

"When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the Sky.<sup>85</sup> Come eagerly to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, as desiring sustenance, ye who do not disappoint my longings.<sup>86</sup> 5. That male, whose prolific virile (organ) was extended, now withdrew it, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] draws forth that which had been

<sup>83</sup> In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 1 ff., it is related that Prajāpati, being desirous of creating, connected himself with various spouses, or associates, for this purpose, first,—in the form of, or by means of, Agni,—with the Earth (*So 'gninā prthivīm mikhunām samabhavat*): from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (*antarikṣha*, neuter), and again an egg was produced, and thence Aditya (the Sun); thirdly, through Aditya he connected himself with Dyaus (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly, sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (*manas*) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (*garbhī abhavat*).

<sup>84</sup> The same phrase occurs in R. V. iii. 29, 8.

<sup>85</sup> See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 234 and 239.

<sup>86</sup> Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmṛita-dhrū* from *a+smṛita+dhru*, "not suffering what I have desired to fall." See s.v. 2, *dhrū*. Sāyana renders it, *asmṛita-drohaḥ mayi droham asmarantaḥ* | "forgetting injury—forgetting injury to me."

introduced [into the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] in the midst that which was to be done at their contact, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—separating from each other, they discharged a little seed which was shed on the surface, on the place of holy ceremonies. 7. When the father, bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth, the benevolent gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites.”

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vāchaṁ duhitaraṁ tanvīm Svayambhūr haratīm manaḥ | akāmūṁ chakamo kshattaḥ sakāmaḥ iti naḥ śrutam |* 29. *Tam adharme kṛita-matin vīlokya pīlaraṁ sutāḥ | Marīchi-mukhyāḥ munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan |* 30. *Naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas traṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigrihyāṅgajam prabhuḥ |* 31. *Tejyasaṁ api hy etad na suślokyaṁ jagadguro | yad vṛittam anutisthan vai lokāḥ kṣhemāya kalpate |* 32. *Tasmai namo bhagarate ya idaṁ svena rochishū ātmasthaṁ ryanjayāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati |* 33. *Sa itthaṁ grīnataḥ putrān puro dṛishṭvā prajāpatin | prajāpati-patis tanvaṁ tatpāja vṛīḍitas tadā | tāṁ diśo jagrihur ghorāṁ nīhāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ |*

“We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: ‘This is such a thing as has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishṇu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.’ Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness.”

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among

the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Mann i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛtvā 'tmano deham arddhena puruṣho 'bhavat | arddhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam asṛjāt prabhuḥ* | "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)<sup>87</sup> Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 65, and the passage from the Satap. Brāhmaṇa cited in the same vol., p. 25 f.<sup>88</sup> On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rīg-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the third vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332-337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Asvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Kṛishṇa, are described.—See the passages from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.; the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff., quoted or abstracted in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 250 ff., and in Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff. (Schlegel's and Bombay ed., Gorresio's ed. i. 49); and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the first volume of this work, pp. 310, 466 (with note), and 467. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Maitihuna-dharmena Virāj-sañjanam puruṣam nirmītarān* |

<sup>88</sup> "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with S'tarūpī; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rāśiḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhiṣṭhītu | tas-mān na kaśchid doṣaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ* |"—Wilson's Vishṇu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 108, note. See the first vol. of this work, p. 112.

<sup>89</sup> Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Abalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk.

In the case of Krishna the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha | samāthāpanāya dharmasya prasamūyetaṛasya cha | avatīrṇo hi bhavagān amśena jagadīśvaraḥ | 28. Sa katham dharma-setūnām vaktā kartā bhirakṣitū | pratipam ācharād brahman paradūrābhimarśanam | 29. Āptakamo Yadu-patiḥ kṛitavān vai jugupsitam | kim-abhiprāyaḥ etaṁ naḥ gaṁśayaṁ chhindhi svrata | Śrī-S'ukah uvācha | 30. Dharma-vyatikramo dṛiṣṭaḥ īśvarānācha sāhasam | tejīyasām na doṣhāya vahneḥ sarvabhujō yathā | 31. Naitat samācharej jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ | vinasīyaty ācharan mauḍhyād yathā 'rudro 'bdhijaṁ viṣham | 32. Īśvarūnām vachaḥ satyaṁ tathairā-charitām kvachit | teshāṁ yat eva-vacho yuktam buddhimāṁs tat samā-charat | 33. Kuśalācharitenaishām iha svārtho na vidyate | viparyayena vā 'nārtho nirahankāriṇām prabho | 34. Kimutākhila-sattvānām tiryāṇ-martya-divaukasām | īśitūṣ cheśitāvyaṇām kuśalākuśalānvaṇayāḥ | 35. Yat pāda-pankaja-parāga-niṣheva-triptāḥ yoga-prabhāva-vidhutākhila-karma-bandhāḥ | svairāṁ charanti munayo 'pi na nahyamānās tasyecchayā 'tla-vapushaḥ kutaḥ eva bandhaḥ | 36. Gopīnām tat-patīnāncho sarveṣhām eva dehinām | yo 'ntas charati so 'dhyakṣaḥ kṛīḍaneneha deha-bhāk | 37. Anugrahāya bhūtānām mānuṣhāṁ deham āśritaḥ | bhajate tādṛṣīḥ kṛīḍāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tat-paro bhavet | 38. Nāsūyan khalu Kṛiṣṇāya mohitās tasya māyayā | manyamūnāḥ eva-parśvasthān svān svān dārān Vrajaukasaḥ | 39. Brahma-rātre upāvṛtite Vāsudevānumoditāḥ | anichhantyo yayur gopyaḥ eva-gṛihān bhagavat-priyāḥ<sup>90</sup> |*

Lit., pp. 529 f. In the Rāmāyaṇa'i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: *Dharma-dhurandharasyāpi Sakraya adharma pravṛttau, vijāṁ darśayitum āha* | "What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra's practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness."

<sup>90</sup> This passage is partly quoted in my *Mata-parikṣā*, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjee's *Dialogues*, p. 333 f.

"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially<sup>21</sup> incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men's wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Kṛishṇa) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Śuka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: any one who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean."<sup>22</sup> 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, O king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, how can there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the gopīs (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their ruler, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he engages in sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Kṛishṇa, since, deluded

<sup>21</sup> Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. *Yas tu Nārāyaṇo nāma deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | tasyāṁśo mānuṣheṣu āsīt Vāsudevaḥ pratūpavān |* See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.

<sup>22</sup> This refers to the poison drunk by Śiva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78 (1st ed.). The passages of the Rāmāyaṇa will be quoted further in chap. iii., sec. vi.

by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the gopīs, beloved and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed (v. 40) by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Kṛishṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, and who repeats it to others, shall attain to strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart (*vikrīḍitaṁ Vraja-vadhūbhir idam̐ cha Viṣṇoḥ śraddhānvito 'nuśṛiṇyūd atha varṇayed yaḥ | bhaktim parām bhagavati pratilabhya kāmam̐ hṛid-rogam̐ āśv apahinoty achireṇa dhīraḥ*). A remarkable instance of homœopathic cure, certainly!

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Śrīdhara Svāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. *Parameśvare kaimutika-nyāyena parihartuṁ sāmānyato mahatām vṛttam̐ āha 'dharmavyatikramah' iti | 'sāhasancha dṛiṣṭam̐' Prajāpatiṇdra-Soma-Viśvāmītrādīnām̐ | tacheha teshām̐ tejasvinām̐ doṣhāya na bhavatīti |* 31. *Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati śreṣṭhīhaḥ' iti nyāyena anyo 'pi kuryād ity āśankya āha 'naitad' iti | 'anīśvaro' dehādi-para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyatirikto viśham̐ ācharan bhakṣhayan |* 32. *Katham̐ tarhi sadāchārasya prāmānyam̐ ataḥ āha 'īśvarānām̐' iti | teshām̐ vachāḥ satyam̐ atas tad-uktam̐ āchared eva | ācharitaṁ kvuchit satyam̐ ataḥ 'sva-vacho yuktaṁ' teshām̐ vachasā yad uktam̐ aviruddham̐ tat tad eva ācharet |* 33. *Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evam̐ sāhasam̐ ācharanti tatra āha 'kusale' ti | prārabdha-karma-kṣhapaṇa-mātram̐ eva teshām̐ kṛityam̐ na anyad ity arthaḥ |* 34. *Prastutam̐ āha 'kinuta' iti | 'kuśalākuśalānwayo' na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam̐ ity arthaḥ |* 35. *Etad eva sphuṭīkaroti | yasya pūda-pankaja-parūgasya nishovanena triptāḥ yadvā yasya pūda-pankaja-parūge nishovā yeshām̐ te tathā te cha te triptāścha iti bhaktiḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā jñāninas̐ cha na nahyamānāḥ bandhanam̐ aprāpnwantāḥ | para-dūrattam̐ gopīnām̐ angīkritya parihṛitam̐ |* 36. *Idānim bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryāmīnāḥ para-dūra-sevā nāma na kāchid ity āha 'gopīnām̐' iti | 'yo'ntas̐ charaty adhyakṣho' buddhy-ādi-sākṣhī sa eva kṛīḍanena dehābhāḥ na tv̐asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doṣhaḥ syād iti |* 37. *Nanu evam̐ ched āptakāmasya nindite kutaḥ prarittir ity āha 'anugrahāya' iti | śṛiṅgāra-rasākṛiṣṭha-chetaso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api eva-parān kartum̐ iti bhāvāḥ |* 38. *Nanu anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ eva cheshṭitam̐ evam̐ eva iti vadanti tatrāha 'nāsūyann' iti | evambhū-taīsvaryūbhāve tathā kurvantaḥ pūpūḥ jneyāḥ iti bhāvāḥ |*



"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard, to the Supreme Deity, by the *a fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed' are those of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmitra, and others; and these are not to be charged to them as faults. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,'<sup>23</sup> etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says, 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as any one separate from Rudra using,' swallowing, 'poison.' 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is [only] sometimes true [correct]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question why these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify [the consequences of] their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. [in the case of the supreme Viṣṇu] there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet'; or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees'; further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The objection that the gopīs were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the gopīs,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to other men's wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within, the ruler,' the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. The author now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers

<sup>23</sup> This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself even such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.<sup>24</sup> 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Kṛishṇa, and perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with himself) had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 47):

Bhagavad Gītā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmaṇaiva hi saṁsiddham āsthitāḥ Janakādayaḥ | loka-sangrahaṁ evāpi sampāśyan kartum arhasi |* 21. *Yad ācharati śreṣṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇaṁ kurute lokas tad anuvartate |* 22. *Na me Pārthāsti kartavyaṁ trishu lokeshu kinchana | nānavāptam avāptavyaṁ varto eva cha karmaṇi |* 23. *Yadi hy ahaṁ na varteyaṁ jātu karmaṇy atandritaḥ | mama vartmānuvartante manusyaḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ |* 24. *Utsideyur ime lokāḥ na kuryāṁ karma ched ahaṁ | sankarasya cha kartā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ |* 25. *Saktāḥ karmaṇy avidvāṁso yathā kurvanti Bhārata || kuryād vidvāṁs tathā 'saktāḥ chikīrṣur loka-sangrahaṁ |* 26. *Na buddhi-bhedaṁ janayed ajnānāṁ karma-saṁgināṁ | jeshayet sarva-karmaṇi vidvān yuktāḥ samācharaṇ |*

"20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind."<sup>25</sup> 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Pṛithā, which I have

<sup>24</sup> I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

<sup>25</sup> Compare Raghuvamśa iii. 46. . . . *pathaḥ śuśher darśayitāraḥ īśvarāḥ māti-masūn ādadate na paddhatim |* "Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path."

to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, O son of Prithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people would be ruined if I did not practise works; and I should occasion a confusion of castes: I should destroy these creatures. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them, without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a distraction of mind among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

I quote here some other interesting stories which I have observed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. (Compare the fifth volume of this work, pp. 12-16.) The first extracts tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal, and what difficulties he encountered in the work of creation.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛj-  
jata | sa ūrdhwebhyaḥ eva prānebhyo devān*<sup>86</sup> *asṛijata yo 'vānchaḥ prānās  
tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram  
asṛijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva martyam āsit ardham  
amṛitam | tad yad asya martyam āsit tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhaya  
imām praviśad dwayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān  
abravīt 'kva nu so 'bhūd yo no 'śriṣṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhaya imām prā-  
vikahad' iti | so 'bravīt 'taṁ vai anvichkhāma taṁ sambharāma na vai ahaṁ  
taṁ hīmsishyāmi' iti | taṁ devāḥ asyāḥ adhi samabharan | yad asya apev  
āsīt tāḥ apaḥ samabharann atha yad asyām tām mṛidam | tad ubhayaṁ  
sambhṛitya mṛidancha āpaścha iṣṭakām ākurvaṁs tasmād etad ubhayaṁ*

<sup>86</sup> The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 46, 2) as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2: *Aṣṭau Vasavaḥ ekūdaśa Rudraḥ dvādaśa Adityāḥ ime eva dyāvā-prthivī trayastriṁśau | trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiḥ chatustriṁśaḥ |* "There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth."

*ishṭakā bhavati mṛichoha āpascha* | 4. *Tad etāḥ vai asya tāḥ pañcha martyāḥ tanvaḥ āsan loma tvaṇ māṁsam asthi majjā attha etāḥ amṛitāḥ mano vāk prāṇas chakṣuḥ śrotram* | . . . . 6. *Te devāḥ abruvann 'amṛitam imāṁ karavāma' iti* | *tasya etābhyām amṛitābhyām tanūbhyām etam martyām tanūm parigrihya amṛitām akurvann ityādi* . . . | 7. . . . . *tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat* . . . | . . .

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayaṁ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa martyaṁ chaiva amṛitancha* | *tasya prāṇāḥ eva amṛitāḥ āsuḥ śarīraṁ martyam* | *sa etena karmaṇā etayā avṛitā ekadhā 'jaram, amṛitam ātmānam akuruta* |

“Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he formed the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the creatures he created Death the devourer. 2. Of this Prajāpati, half was mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal, he was afraid of Death.” Fearing, he entered this [earth], having become two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, ‘what has become of him who created us?’ [They answered], ‘fearing you, he has entered this earth.’ Death said, ‘let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.’ The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz. earth and water. 4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear. . . . 6. The gods said, ‘let us make him immortal.’ So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal . . . . thence Prajāpati became immortal . . . .”

x. 1, 4, 1.—“Prajāpati was formerly both of these two things, mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly undecaying and immortal.”

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 4, 4, 1: *Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ sṛjyamānam pūpmā mṛityur abhiparijaghāna* | *sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarūn pūpmānaṁ vijihāsann ityādi* | “Misery, death, smote Prajāpati when

<sup>67</sup> Comp. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 3, 2, 1. *Devūḥ vai mṛityor abihhayaḥ, te Prajāpatiṁ upādāhvan* | “The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajāpati,” etc. See also S’atap. Br. x. 4, 2, 2, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 69.

he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from misery." See the passages to a similar effect, quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 68 ff., and Śatap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume, p. 349; and further the same Brāhmaṇa, iv. 6, 3, 1: *Prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasrijānasya parvāni visasraṃsuḥ*: "As Prajāpati was creating living beings, his joints became relaxed," etc.

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality; and the first of them also informs us of a means whereby men may become immortal, after the decay of their bodies.<sup>88</sup>

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mṛityur yat saṃvatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyuh kṣhinoty atha mriyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etan mṛityuṃ saṃvatsaram veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyuh kṣhinoti sarvaṃ ha eva āyur eti | 2. Esha eva antakaḥ | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṃ gachhaty' atha mriyante | tasmād esha eva antakaḥ | sa yo ha etan antakaṃ mṛityuṃ saṃvatsaram veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṃ gachhati sarvaṃ ha eva āyur eti | 3. Te devāḥ etasmād antakād mṛityoḥ saṃvatsarāt Prajāpater bibhayān-chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṃ na gachhed' iti | 4. Te etān yajnakratūṃs tenire 'gnihotraṃ darśa-pūrṇamāṣau chāturmāsyaṇi paśubandhaṃ saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajna-kratubhir yajamānāḥ na amṛitavā ānāsire | 5. Te ha apy Agniṃ chikyire | te 'parimitāḥ eva parīśritāḥ upadadhur aparimitāḥ yajushmatir aparimitāḥ lokamprīṇāḥ yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhāti iti devāḥ akurvann iti te ha na eva amṛitavā ānāsire | 6. Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ eherur amṛitavā avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāni rūpāṇy upadhattha atī vā eva rechayatha na vā 'bhyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitāḥ bhavatha' iti | 7. Te ha ūkukḥ | 'tebhyo vai naḥ tvam eva tad brūhi yathā te sarvāni rūpāṇy upadadhāma' iti | 8. Sa ha uvācha shashṭīm cha trīṇi cha śatāni parīśritāḥ upadhatta shashṭīm cha, trīṇi cha śatāni yajushmatir adhi shaṭ-tri-mśatam atha lokamprīṇāḥ daśa*

<sup>88</sup> Comp. Śatap. Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 14, note; and the same Brāhmaṇa ix. 3, 3, 2. In Śatap. Br. x. 3, 5, 13, happiness, or gladness, is said to be the soul or essence of all the gods (*ānandātmano ha eva sarve devāḥ*).

<sup>89</sup> *Gachhati*=*gamayati* | Comm.

*cha sahasrāṇy aṣṭau cha śatāṇy upādhatta atha me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadāsyatha atha 'amṛitāḥ bhaviṣhyatha' iti | te ha tathā devāḥ upadadhus tato devāḥ amṛitāḥ āsuh |* 9. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīd 'ittham eva sarve manushyāḥ amṛitāḥ bhaviṣhyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhaviṣhyati' iti | te ha ūcuh 'na ato 'pargh kaśchana saha śarireṇa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhūgam harāsi | atha vyāvṛitya śarireṇa [śarīram viḥāya, Comm.] amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' iti | yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' ity eṣhā ha eva sū vidyā yad Agnir eṭad u ha eva tat karma yad Agniḥ |* 10. *Te ye evam eṭad vidur ye vā etat karma kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti | te sambhavantaḥ eva amṛitatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evaṁ na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punaḥ punar bhavanti |*

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—“It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, ‘lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.’ 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the agnihotra, the darśa and pūrṇamāsa, the chāturmāsya (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the paśubandha, and the saumya adhvara: but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated parīsṛite, yajushmatī, lokamprīṇās, without definite measure, as some even now<sup>100</sup> celebrate them. So did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. 6. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, ‘Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye either carry them to excess, or ye do not fully carry them out; hence ye do not become

<sup>100</sup> This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'Perform 63 hundred pariśrīts, 63 hundred and 36 yājush-mātis, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokamprīnās; ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'No other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then every one who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and from the fact of being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12.—*Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuh | sa yadū eva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitāḥ āsuh | sarvaṁ vai saṁvatsarah | sarvaṁ vai akshayyam | etena u ha aśya akshayyaṁ sukṛilam bhavaty akshayyo lokah |* "The gods were originally mortal.<sup>101</sup> When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6.—*Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuh | sa yadū eva te Brahmanā pur (vyūptāḥ, Comm.) atha amṛitāḥ āsuh |* "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brahma, they became immortal" (see the context of this passage in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 388). Comp. Taitt. Br., iii. 10, 9, 1, quoted in the first vol. of this work, p. 71.

The following story describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Aśuras. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāścha Aśurāścha ubhaye prajāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur*

<sup>101</sup> See Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 8, quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.

*dāyam*<sup>102</sup> *upeyur vācham, eva satyūn, ite satyano haiva anṛitanoha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadann ubhaye 'nṛitam | te ha sadṛiṣaṁ vadantaḥ sadṛiṣāḥ eva āsurāḥ | 13. Te devāḥ uterijya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālebbhire | asurāḥ u ha uterijya satyam anṛitaṁ anvālebbhire | 14. Tad ha idaṁ satyam ikṣhānchakre yad asuresho āsa 'devāḥ vai uterijya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti jaḍ devān ājagāma | 15. Anṛitaṁ u ha ikṣhānchakre yad devesho āsa 'asurāḥ vai uterijya satyam anṛitaṁ anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma | 16. Te devāḥ sarvaṁ satyam avadan sarvaṁ asurāḥ anṛitaṁ | te devā āsakti<sup>103</sup> satyaṁ vadantaḥ aishāvīrataraḥ iva āsur anāḍhyataraḥ iva | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti satyaṁ vadaty aishāvīrataraḥ iva eva bhavaty anāḍhyataraḥ iva | sa ha tv eva antato bhuvati<sup>104</sup> devaḥ hy evāntato 'bhavan | 17. Atha ha asurāḥ āsakti anṛitaṁ vadantaḥ ūshaḥ iva pipisur<sup>105</sup> āḍhyaḥ iva āsurāḥ | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti anṛitaṁ vadaty ūshaḥ iva eva pisaty āḍhyaḥ iva bhavati parā ha tv eva antato bhavati parā hy asurāḥ abhavan | tad yat tat satyaṁ trayī sū vidyā | te devāḥ abruvan 'yajnam kṛtvā idaṁ satyaṁ tanavāmahai' | . . . . 27. Teshu proteshu tṛitīya-savanam atanvata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayāṁs tat sarvaṁ satyam ūpnuvāṁs tato 'surāḥ apapupruvire | tato devāḥ abhavan parā 'surāḥ | bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātṛivyo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |*

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati,<sup>106</sup> obtained their fathor Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth

<sup>102</sup> Compare S'atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.

<sup>103</sup> *Āsakti satyam | kevalam satyam |* Comm.

<sup>104</sup> Some such proposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, "he really exists, continues, or prevails." Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

<sup>105</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisaty* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18. *Peṣukam vai vāstu pisatyati ha prajāyā paśūbhir yasya evaṁ viduṣho 'nush-tubhau bhavataḥ |* "His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *anush-tubhs*." The commentator explains the word *peṣukam* as equal to *abhivardhana-īlam*, "whose nature is to increase," and *pisatyati* as meaning *atīviriddho bhavati*, "he becomes exceedingly augmented."

<sup>106</sup> Comp. Taitt. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. *Ubhaye vai ete Prajāpater adhy asṛjyanta devāḥ cha asurāḥ cha | tān na vyajānād "ime anye ime anye" iti |* "Gods and Asuras were both created from Prajāpati. He could not distinguish the one as different from the other."



and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras, abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood, have adopted truth; let me go to it.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth, have adopted falsehood; let me go to it.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth exclusively (or devotedly), the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks exclusively truth becomes, as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [prosperous], for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking exclusively falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks exclusively falsehood increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but succumbs in the end, for the Asuras succumbed. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'Let us, after performing sacrifice, celebrate this truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they celebrated the third Savana, and accomplished it. Inasmuch as they accomplished it, they found it entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and the gods became [superior, while] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

Another story relates to the same subject, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. i. 1, 1 (=xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): *Devās cha vai Asurās cha ubhaye prajāpatyāḥ paśupriḍhire | tato 'surāḥ atimānena eva "kasmin nu vasyaṁ juhuyāma" iti śvesho eva āsyeshu juhvataś cheruḥ | te 'tindūnena eva parābābhūvūḥ | tasmād na atimanyeta | parābhavasya hy etad mukhaṁ yad abhīmānaḥ |* 2. *Atha devāḥ anyo 'nyasmin juhvataś cheruḥ | tebhyaḥ Prajāpatiṃ ātmānam pradadau | yajno ha eśhām āsa yajno hi devānām annam |* "The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Asuras, asking themselves to whom they should offer their oblations, through presumption went on placing them in

their own mouths;<sup>107</sup> and in consequence of this their presumption they were overcome. Wherefore let no one be presumptuous; for presumption leads to defeat. 2. The gods went on offering their oblations to one another. Prajāpati gave himself to them; sacrifice became theirs; for sacrifice supplies the food of the gods."<sup>108</sup>

The following is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 9, 6 f.: *Asurā-nām vai iyam agre āsit | yāvad āsinaḥ parāpaśyati tāvad devānām | te devūḥ abruvān "astv eva no 'yam api" iti "kyaṁ no dāsyatha" iti | "yāvat vāyam parigrihṇītha" iti* | "This [earth] formerly belonged to the Asuras. The gods had only as much as any one can see while sitting. The gods said to them, 'Let us also have a share in it. What will you give us?' 'As much as you yourselves can encompass.'" The different classes of gods then encompassed it on four sides.<sup>109</sup>

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—*Sarve ha vai devūḥ agre sudrīṣāḥ āsuh sarve punyūḥ | teshām sarveshām sadrīṣānām sarveshām punyānām trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭhāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ Sūryaḥ | 2. Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān dadrīṣuḥ tān atyagrihṇata | tad yad enān atyagrihṇata tasmād atigrāhyāḥ nāma | te 'tishṭhāvāno 'bhavan | yathā te etad atishṭhā iva atishṭhā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ vidushaḥ etān grahān grihṇanti | 3. No ha vai idam agre 'gnau varchaḥ āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etān graham apaśyat tam agrihṇita tato 'sminn etad varchaḥ āsa | 4. No ha vai idam agre Indre ojaḥ āsa yad idam asmin ojaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi ojaḥ syād' iti | sa etān graham apaśyat tam agrihṇita tato 'sminn etad ojaḥ āsa | 5. No ha vai idam agre sūrye bhrūjaḥ āsa yad idam asmin bhrūjaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi bhrūjaḥ syād' iti | sa etān graham apaśyat tam agrihṇita tato 'sminn etad bhrūjaḥ āsa | etāni ha vai tejāṁsy etāni vīryāny ātman dhatte yasya evaṁ vidushaḥ etān grahān grihṇanti |*

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: 'May we become superior,' viz. Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling.

<sup>107</sup> Comp. the words *ye adhi dṛptāv ajuhvata*, R. V. i. 61, 5; and Sāyana's comment thereon.

<sup>108</sup> Comp. Śatap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: *Sarveshām vai eṣa bhūtānām sarveshām devānām ātmā yad yajnaḥ* | "Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, of all the gods."

<sup>109</sup> Comp. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2; xi. 2, 7, 26.

They saw these atigrāhyas;<sup>110</sup> they offered them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called atigrāhyas. They became superior. As they [became] thus, as it were, superior, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this graha, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3]. 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3]. That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas."

<sup>110</sup> By this name are called "three particular grahas, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstucker's Dict. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning "*haustus insuper haurendus*," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

## CHAPTER II.

VISHṆU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE  
BRAHMAṆAS, THE ITIHĀSAS, AND THE PURĀNAS.SECT. I.—*Passages in the Hymns of the R̥ig-veda relating to Viṣṇu.*

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. : 16 (=S. V. 2, 1024). *Āto devāḥ avantu no yato Viṣṇur vichakrame | prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ |* 17 (=S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4). *Idaṁ Viṣṇur vichakrame tredha nidadhe padam | samūlham asya pāṁsure [pāṁsule | S. V.]* 18 (=S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5). *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Viṣṇur gopāḥ adūbhyaḥ | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan |* 19 (=S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6). *Viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vralūni paspaṣe | Indrasya yuyāḥ<sup>1</sup> sakhā |* 20 (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7). *Tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ | divivi chakshur ātatam |* 21 (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44). *Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgrivāṁsaḥ samindhate | Viṣṇor yat paramam padam |*

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Viṣṇu strode<sup>2</sup> over the seven regions of the earth." 17. Viṣṇu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world, or

<sup>1</sup> *Yuyō vā sakhā vā*, R. V. ii. 28, 10; *yuy*, i. 10, 9; *yuyūya*, ix. 66, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh. S'ānti-Parva, v. 13171: *Kramaṇācch chāpy aham Pārtha Viṣṇur ity abhisainjñitāḥ* | "And from striding, O son of Prithā, I am called Viṣṇu." The A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshipper (*Prajāpater vai eṣa vikramōn anuvikramate yaḥ upaharati*).

<sup>3</sup> Instead of the words *prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*, the Sāma-veda reads, *prithivyāḥ adhi sūnavi*: "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his "Orient und Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Viṣṇu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sayana to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the R̥ig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.

his step, was] enveloped in his dust.' 18. <sup>4</sup> Vishṇu, the unconquerable<sup>5</sup> preserver, strode three steps, thereby maintaining fixed ordinances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this intimate friend of Indra perceived<sup>6</sup> established laws. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up<sup>7</sup> [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;<sup>8</sup> where we have the following explanations of its purport, derived by Yāska from two older writers:—

*Yad idam kincha tad vikramate Viṣṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padam |*  
*'tredhā-bhāvāya prithivyām antarikṣhe divi' iti Śākapiṇiḥ | 'samā-*  
*rohāne viṣṇupade gayasirasi' ity Aurnavābhaḥ | 'samūḍham asya pām-*  
*sure' | pyāyane 'ntarikṣhe padaṁ na dṛśyate | apirā upamārthe syāt |*  
*samūḍham asya pāmsule iva padaṁ na dṛśyate ityūdi |*

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Śākapiṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurnavābha. '*Samūḍham asya pāmsure*,' i.e. his step is

<sup>4</sup> According to Benfey, translation of S. V., p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishṇu's dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient und Occident," he explains it thus: "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disc from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3, "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

<sup>5</sup> *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṇu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe, which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

<sup>6</sup> Śāyana gives to the root *spas* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspaṣe* by "received," and, in the "Orient und Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spas* occur in the R. V.

<sup>7</sup> Benfey renders *saminidhate* "glorify." The commentator on the Vāj. S. 34, 44, makes it *dīpayante* = *upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

<sup>8</sup> Formerly cited in part in the second volume of this work.

not seen in that prolific region, the atmosphere (*pyāyane antarikshe*): or the phrase may be metaphorical, 'enveloped in his dust, as it were, his step is not seen,' etc.

The following is the comment of Durgāchārya<sup>9</sup> on this passage of the Nirukta:

*Vishṇur Ādityaḥ | Katham iti yataḥ āha 'tredhā nidadhe padam' nidhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaiḥ | kva tat tāvat | 'prithivyām antarikshe divi' iti Śākāpūṇiḥ | pāṛthivyo 'gnir bhūtvā prithivyām yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhiṣṭhāti | antārikshe vaidyutātmanā | divi suryātmanā | yad uktam 'tam ū akrinvan tredhā bhūve kam' (R. V. x. 88, 10) iti | 'samārohaṇe' udaya-girāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte | 'vishṇu-pade' madhyandine 'ntarikshe | 'gayasirasy' astāṅgirāv ity Aurnavābhāḥ āchārya manyate |*

"Vishṇu is the sun [Āditya].<sup>10</sup> How so? Because [the hymn] says, 'in three places he planted his step'; i.e. plants his step, [makes] a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,' according to Śākāpūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), 'They made him to become threefold.' Aurnavābha Āchārya thinks [the meaning is] this, 'He plants one foot on the 'samārohaṇa' (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the 'vishṇu-pada,' the meridian sky; [a third] on the 'gayasiras,' the hill of setting."<sup>11</sup>

It thus appears from the statement of Yaska that the two old writers whom he quotes had proposed two different interpretations of Vishṇu's steps.

First: Śākāpūṇi thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, and of the solar light in the sky, was intended in the hymn. This threefold distribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5:

<sup>9</sup> Already quoted in the second volume of this work.

<sup>10</sup> The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishṇu: *Vishṇur yunaktu bahudhā tapānsi asmin yajñe suryajaḥ svāhā |*

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix B.

*Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti 'Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ prithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānqḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaiḥkasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhīdhanāni ityādi |*

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,<sup>12</sup> or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgātṛi are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them," etc.<sup>13</sup>

According to Śākapīni, therefore, Viṣṇu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurṇavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Viṣṇu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting.<sup>14</sup> According to him, therefore, Viṣṇu is simply the sun.

Sāyaṇa (see Professor Wilson's translation, p. 53, note) understands this passage as referring to the three steps of Viṣṇu in his "Dwarf incarnation," of which I shall supply details further on. The commentator on the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā annotates thus on 5, 15 (=verse 17 of the hymn before us):

*Viṣṇus trivikramāvatāraṃ kṛtvā idam viśvum vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad eva āhu | tredhā padam nidadhḥ bhūmāv ekam padam*

<sup>12</sup> Καὶ ταῖα πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία, Æschylus Prom. Vinet. v. 217.

<sup>13</sup> In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaiḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti* | "From the greatness of the Deity the one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul," etc. Compare Mr. Colebrooke's Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 75 of *Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record*, that these Essays are being reprinted under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. (August, 1872.)

<sup>14</sup> This is the view taken by Prof. Max Müller: "This stepping of Viṣṇu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun," etc. Trans. of R. V., vol. i., p. 117.

*antariṁśhe dvītiyaṁ divi trītiyam iti kṛmād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rupena ity arthaḥ |*

“Vishṇu, becoming incarnate as Trivikrama (the god who stepped thrice), strode over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the *rishi*] expresses [in the words], ‘In three places he planted his step,’ i.e. one step on the earth, a second in the atmosphere, and a third in the sky: in the successive forms of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya.”

The commentator here combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Śākapūṇi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Śākapūṇi, or of Aurnavābha, as handed down by Yaska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishṇu.<sup>15</sup>

I proceed to quote in order from the Rig-veda further texts relative to Vishṇu.

R. V. i. 61, 7: *Asyed u mātuh savaneshu sadyo mahaḥ pitum papivān chāru annā | mushāyad Vishnuḥ pachataṁ sahiyān vidhyad varāhaṁ tira adrim astā*—“Having at the libations of that great measurer [of the worlds, i.e. Indra], drunk the potion, and [eaten] the pleasant oblations, the impetuous Vishṇu straightway stole the cooked mess, pierced the boar and shot through the mountain.” See R. V. viii. 66, 10, below, and the quotation from Sāyaṇa’s note on that verse.

<sup>15</sup> The Brāhmaṇas, as well as the hymns, contain frequent allusions to the three steps or stations of Vishṇu. See the Śatap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taitt. Saṁh. i. 7, 5, 4. The Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā has the following additional reference to them. According to the commentator, the interlocutors in the two verses are the brahman and udgātṛ, priests. Vāj. Saṁh., xxiii. 49: *Prichhāmi tvā chitaye devasakha yadi tvam atra manasā jagantha | yeshu Vishṇus treshu padeshu eṣṭas teshu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa |* 50 *| Api teshu trishu padeshu asmi yeshu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa | sadyaḥ paryami prithivīm uta dyāu ekenāngena divo asya prishṭham |* “I ask thee, friend of the gods, that I may know, if thou by thy mind hast reached so far,—did Vishṇu, in the three steps (or spheres) in which he is worshipped, pervade the entire universe? | 50. I am even in those three steps by which he pervaded the entire universe. Straightway I move around the earth and heaven; with one member, (I move) over the surface of this sky.”



R. V. i. 85, 7: *Te avardhanta eva-tavast mahitvanā ā nakaṁ śasthur uru chakrīro sadaḥ | Viṣṇur yad ha āvad vṛiṣaṇam mada-chyutaṁ vayo na sīdann adhi barhiṣi priye |*

"They (the Maruts), strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Viṣṇu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,<sup>15</sup> they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Ūta no dhiyo go-agrōḥ Pūshan Viṣṇo eva-yāvaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. śaṁ no 'Mitraḥ śam Varuṇaḥ śaṁ no bhavatu Aryamā | śaṁ naḥ Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ śaṁ no Viṣṇur urukramaḥ |*

5. "Pūshan, Viṣṇu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle and other possessions: make us prosperous. . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuṇa, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Viṣṇu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse (where two gods are alluded to), is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Viṣṇu's praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Viṣṇor nu kaṁ*

<sup>15</sup> Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *madasya haraḥa-nya ūsektāram*, "dispenser of exhilaration" he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2 — where it is an epithet of Indra—by *śatī ūṇām madasya gurvasyū chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V., viii. 1, 21, the word *mada-chyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt. [I leave my translation to stand as it was in the first edition. Benfey, however, "Orient und Occident," ii. 248, renders the clause about Viṣṇu thus: "When Viṣṇu protects the dropping (Soma) who distils intoxication," and refers to a paper of his own in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen regarding the relation of Viṣṇu to Soma. In Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the word *madachyut*, as it is to be understood in this passage, is translated "delightful," "gladdening," "inspiring." Prof. Müller, Translation of R. V., vol. i., renders the clause, "When Viṣṇu desecrated the enrapturing Soma." In his note, p. 116, he remarks: "Viṣṇu, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra." After quoting various texts about the two gods, he adds, "The mention of Viṣṇu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations." He says, p. 118, that "bringing down pride" is a meaning which the word *madachyut* clearly has not in the Veda. When applied to the thunderbolt, he says it ought to be rendered "wildly rushing down"; and when referred to Indra, his horses, or the *Asvins*, or to horses in general, he would translate it by "furiously or wildly moving about."]

*vīryāṇi pravocchaṃ<sup>17</sup> yaḥ pāṛthivānā vīname rajāṃsi | yo askabhāyad  
uttaram sadhasthaṃ vieḥakramānas tredhā urugāyaḥ | 2. (= A. V. 7, 26,  
2, 3; Nir. 1, 20): Pra tad Viṣṇuḥ stavate vīryeṇa mṛigo na bhīmaḥ  
kucharo girishṭhāḥ<sup>18</sup> | yasyorushu triśhu vikramaṇeṣhu adhikakṣiyanti bhu-  
vanāni viśvā | 3. Pra Viṣṇave śūśham etu manṁa girikṣute urugāyāya<sup>19</sup>  
vriṣṇe | yaḥ idaṁ dīrgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tridhīr it  
padebhīḥ | 4. Yasya tri pūrṇā madhunā padāni akṣāyamānā svadhayā  
madanti | yaḥ u tridhātu prithivīm uta dyūm eko dādāra bhuvanāni  
viśvā | 5. Tad asya priyam abhi pāthā (R. V. iii. 55, 10) āśyūṁ naro yatra  
devayaro madanti | urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Viṣṇoḥ pade parame  
madhvah utsaḥ | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): Tū vām vāstūni uśmasi  
gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śringāḥ ayāsaḥ | atrāha tad urugāyasya  
vriṣṇaḥ paramam padam ara bhāti bhūri |*

"I declare the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu, who traversed the mundane regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Viṣṇu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within [the range of] whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let my inspiring hymn proceed to Viṣṇu, the dweller in the [aerial] mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone traversed with three steps this wide, extended firmament;—4. Whose three [steps, or] stations, replenished with

<sup>17</sup> The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya vīryāṇi pravocchaṃ*, etc. Compare R. V., ii. 15, 1.

<sup>18</sup> On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "*Kucharaḥ*" *iti charatī karma kuleitam | atha chud devatūbhīdhūnāṁ kva ayaṁ na charatī iti | girishṭhāḥ girishṭhāyī giriḥ parvataḥ . . . tat-prakṛitī itarat sandhu-sāmānyād megha-śṭhūyī megho 'pi giriḥ etus-mād eva |* "*Kuchara*" is one who does (*charatī*) a blamable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' '*Girishṭhāḥ*' means 'abiding in the mountains;' for *giri* means 'mountain.' . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, "a joint"; and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*, is applied to Indra in R. V., x. 180, 2 (= S. V., ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3). Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v., think the word *Kuchara* may signify "slowly-moving," "slinking." The word *mṛiga* is applied to Varuṇa in R. V. vii. 87, 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Urugāyasya = prithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.*—Sāyaṇa on R. V. iii. 6, 4. *Urugāyasya = mahāgateh.*—Nir. ii. 7.

honey, imperishable, gladden<sup>us</sup> with food; who alone hath triply sustained the universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishṇu. 6. We yearn to attain to those abodes of you twain, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyaṇa gives of the words *pārthivāṇi rajāṁsi*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: *Yo Viṣṇuḥ pārthivāṇi prithivī-sambandhini rajāṁsi ranjanātmakāni kṣhity-ādi-loka-trayābhiniṁśy Agni-Vāyū-Āditya-rūpāni rajāṁsi vimame viśeṣheṇa nirmame | atra trayo lokāḥ api prithivī-sabda-rūpyāḥ | tathā cha man-trāntaram* (R. V. i. 108, 9), 'yad Indrāgni aramasyām prithivyām madhyamasyām puramasyām utu stha' iti | Taittirīye 'pi 'yo 'syām prithivyām asy āyushā' ity upakramya 'yo dvitīyasyām tṛtīyasyām prithivyām' iti | tasmāl lokatrayasya prithivī-sabda-rūchyatvam | . . . yadrā yo Viṣṇuḥ pārthivāṇi prithivī-sambandhini rajāṁsi adhastana-sapta-lokān vimame | . . . rajāḥ-sabdo lokāḥ-rūchī 'lokāḥ rajāṁśy uchyante' iti Yāsenoktatvāt | . . . atharā pārthivāṇi prithivī-nimittalāni rajāṁsi lokān vimame | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthāḥ | bhūmyām uparjita-karma-bhogārthatvād itara-lokānām tat-kāraṇatvam |

"[The meaning is], Vishṇu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with *prithivī* (the earth),—the regions (*rajāṁsi*),—the things whose nature is to delight (*ranjanātmakāni*),—existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, who represent the three worlds, the earth, etc. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term *prithivī*. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: 'Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (*prithivī*), in the middle [world], or in the highest,' etc. In the Taittirīya also, [we have the words] beginning with 'thou who with thy life art in this world,' etc.; [and proceeding] 'who in the second, or third world,' etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word *prithivī*. . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishṇu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term *rajas* denotes a world, since Yāska says 'worlds are called *rajāṁsi*.' . . . Or [the

sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth and the others. For as the other worlds are destined to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyana, which gives the meanings of *rajas*: *Rajo rajateḥ | jyotiḥ rajaḥ uchyate | udakam rajaḥ uchyate | lokāḥ rajāmasy uchyante | asṛig<sup>20</sup>-ahanī rajasī uchyate | 'rajāmśi chitrāḥ vicharanti tanyavaḥ' ity api nigamo bhavati |*

"*Rajas* is derived from the root *raj*. Light is called *rajas*. Water is called *rajas*. The worlds are called *rajāmśi*. [Blood and day, or] day and night, are called *rajasī*. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), 'Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.'"—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rajāmśi*): *vi yas tastambha śhal imā rajāmśi*, "who established these six worlds."

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing,"<sup>21</sup> as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ*, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 16), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 260. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *vimimānaḥ* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eshi rajas prithvī alā mimāno aktubhīḥ | paśyan jannuṇi sūrya* | "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays,<sup>22</sup> beholding created things."

The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (= Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātuh rajaso vimānaḥ*<sup>23</sup> | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: *tridhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāy. ātmanā rajaso 'ntarikṣhasya vimāno vimātā 'dhishtṛhata 'smi* | "Triply

<sup>20</sup> Roth conjectures that the word *asṛig* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> See Bohtlingk and Roth s. v. *mā+vi*.

<sup>22</sup> The word *aktubhīḥ* is rendered "nights" by Yaska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhīḥ*, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 6.

<sup>23</sup> This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Parisiṣṭa ii. 1.

dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere."

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth," etc.

I shall adduce one other passage R. V. v. 81, 3 (=Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the world is ascribed to Savitṛi (the sun): *Yasya prayāṇam anv anye id yayur devāḥ devasya mahimānam ojasū | yaḥ pāṛthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā* | - "He, the god whose course and whose might the other gods have followed with vigour, who measured [or traversed] the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitṛi is a steed."

This text is quoted and commented on in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18: '*Yasya prayāṇam anv anye id yayur*' iti | *Prājāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot | tat tato devāḥ akurvan devāḥ devasya mahimānam ojasū*' iti | *yajno vai mahimā | devāḥ devasya yajnaṁ vīryam "ojasū" ity etad* | '*yaḥ pāṛthivāni vimame sa etaśaḥ*' iti | *yad vai kincha asyāṁ tat pāṛthivam tad eṣa sarvaṁ vimimīte | rāsmibhir hy enad abhyavatanoti* | '*rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā*' iti | *ime vai lokāḥ rajāṁsi | asāv Adityo devaḥ Savitā | tān eṣa mahimnā vimimīte* | "Whose course the other gods have followed.' Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] 'the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.' Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. 'He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.' Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. 'The god Savitṛi [measured out] the regions by his power.' These worlds are the regions: that Aditya (sun) is the god Savitṛi. He measures them out by his power."

The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words *pāṛthivāni vimame rajāṁsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimnaḥ uru-vikramato grīṇāno yaḥ pāṛthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi martyaḥ | kiṁ jūyamānaḥ uta jātaḥ upaiti martyaḥ ity āha mantradṛṣṭiḥ ṛṣiḥ puru-*

*śaśya yasya* | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishṇu's) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can 'the mortal who is being born, or has been born,' attain to it? Thus speaks the ṛishi who saw a hymn regarding this Puruṣa."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Uru bahu vikramato Viṣṇor mahimnaḥ pāraṁ yo gr̥ṇāno bhavati sa martyaḥ pāṛthivāni rajāṁsy api viname ganitavān | yathā pāṛthiva-paramānu-gaṇanam asakyaṁ tathā Viṣṇor guṇa-gaṇanam asakyaṁ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha manthro 'Viṣṇor nu kaṁ viryāṇī' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ sūchayann āha yasya puruṣasya pūrṇa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-ḍṛig ṛishir Vasishṭhaḥ ity evam āha | katham | kiṁ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko' pi iti vadann anantatreṇa eva āha ity arthaḥ | tathā cha manthro 'na te Viṣṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa' iti |* "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishṇu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishṇu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: 'I declare the heroic deeds of Vishṇu,' etc. Alluding to the sense of another verse (R. V. vii. 99, 2), he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Puruṣa, Vasishṭha, the seer of the hymn, thus speaks:' How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, O divine Vishṇu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness."

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: *Sarve 'pi rāsmayo gāvaḥ uchyanṭe | . . . tāni vām vāstūni kāmayāmahe gamanūya yatra gāvo bhūri-śringāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Viṣṇor mahāgateḥ paramam padam pūrārḍhyasikham avabhāti bhūri |* "All rays are called *gāvaḥ*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest sphere, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishṇu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving,

cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ['of you two'] cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dāmpatī abhipretya*, etc. [*vām* refers to the husband and his wife.] But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Saṁhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishṇu is referred to in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (6, 3)," which, instead of *tā vām vāstūny ūśmasi gamadhya*, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny ūśmasi*, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishṇu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—*Pra ruḥ pāntam*<sup>24</sup> *andhaso dhiyāyate mahe sūrāya Viṣṇave cho archata | yā sāmuni purvatānām adābhyā mahas tasthatat arvaleva sādhanū | 2. Tvesham itlū samaraṇam*<sup>25</sup> *śimvator Indra-Viṣṇu suta-pāḥ vām urushyati | yā martyāya paridhīyamānam it kṛiśānor astur asandam urushyathah | 3. Tūḥ īm vardhanti mahi asya pauṁsyaṁ ni mātaraḥ nayati retase bhujē | dadhāti putro araram param pitur nāma trītiyam adki rochane dīraḥ | 4. Tat tad id asya pauṁsyaṁ grīṇīmasi inasya trātur arikasya mūlhuṣah | yāḥ pārlhīrāni tribhir id vigūmabhir uru kramish! orugāyāya jivase | 5. Dvo id asya kramāṇe svarārīṣo abhikhyāya martyo bhuranyati | trītiyam asya nakir ā dadharshati vayas chana patayantaḥ patatrinah | 6. Chaturbhiḥ sākām navatinceha nāmabhiḥ cakram na vṛittam vyatin avīripat | bṛihachchhaviro viminānaḥ rikvabhir yuvā 'kumārah prati eti āhavam |*

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishṇu, who both swiftly rose invincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are violent,—who avert from the [pious]

<sup>24</sup> *Pāntam* = *pūnīyam*.—Nir. vii. 25.

<sup>25</sup> *Samaraṇam* s. = *sangrāma-nāma*.—Nigh. 2, 17.

mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiṣṇu. 3. These [libations, according to Sāyana] augment his virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the innoxious, the bountiful, who with three steps traversed<sup>26</sup> far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.<sup>27</sup> 5. A mortal is agitated when contemplating two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dares to attempt his third step,<sup>28</sup> not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. With four and ninety names, he has impelled his steeds, like a rolling wheel. Accoutred by his encomiasts, vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat.”

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhava mitro na śevyo ghrītāsutir vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayāḥ u saprathāḥ | adha te Viṣṇo viduṣhā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajnaścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yāḥ pūrvyāya vedhase naviyase sumajjānaye Viṣṇave dadāṣati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yujyam chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotūrah pūrvyam yathā vīda rītasya gurbhaṁ januṣhā pipartana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid rivaktana mahas te Viṣṇo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratuṁ sachantu mūrutasya vedhasaḥ | dādḥūra dakṣham uttamam ahārīdāṁ rrajaṁ cha Viṣṇur sukhīrān apornute | 5. Ā yo virūya sachathūya dairyaḥ Indrāya Viṣṇuḥ sukṛite sukṛittaraḥ | vedhāḥ ajinvat triśadhaḥasthaḥ āryam rītasya bhūge yajamūnām ā bhajat |*

“Be to us beneficent like a friend, worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Viṣṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Viṣṇu, the ancient, the disposer [or the wise], the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,<sup>29</sup>—he who extols the nature of this mighty Being, shall excel

<sup>26</sup> Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 63, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 69).

<sup>27</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (below).

<sup>28</sup> See R. V. vii. 99, 1, below.

<sup>29</sup> Sāyana gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jānti*. The first makes it *svayam evotpannūya*, “born by his own power” (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: *Sumat svayam ity arthaḥ | “sumat means svayam, self”*). The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutarām mādayati iti sumat | tadṛśī jāyā yasya sa . . . | tasmai sarva-jagan-mūdāna-īlā-S’rī-pataye | “su-mat means ‘greatly*



his friend<sup>29</sup> in renown. 3. Encomiasts, satisfy [with worship], <sup>as</sup> ye know how to do, him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name declare, 'Vishnu, we enjoy the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṇa and the Āśvins have done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended by the Maruts. Vishnu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;<sup>30</sup> and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishnu, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Ārya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardha-garbhāḥ bhuvanasya reto Viśṇos tiṣṭhanti pradiśā vidharmanī | te dhātībhir manasā te vipāśchitāḥ paribhuvāḥ pari bhavanti viśvataḥ |* "Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishnu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, embracing, comprehend all things."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Āśvināv avasṇe kṛṇudhvam pra Pūṣhaṇāṁ svatavaṣo hi santi | advesho Viśṇur Vātaḥ Rībhukshāḥ achha sumnāya vavṛitīya devān |* "Dispose the Āśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishnu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Rībhukshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhāḥ satām asi tvaṁ Viśṇur*

gladdening.' *Sumaj-jāni* then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase will thus mean, 'to the lord of Śrī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.'" Dr. Aufrecht thinks that *jāni* has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, *Illust. of Nir.*, p. 90, supposes *sumat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean "easily," "gladly."

<sup>29</sup> Compare the words *yujya vā sakṃ vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yujya* is explained by Sāyaṇa as=*yojana-samarthaḥ pītṛādīr vā*; and R. V. i. 22, 14, where the same word *yujya* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, "friendly." Compare also *ayuja* in R. V. viii. 61, 2.

<sup>30</sup> See the interpretation of the word *aḥarvid* given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying "long known."

*urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahma rayiviḍ Brahmanāspate tvam vidhartāḥ sachase purandhyā |* "Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmanāspati, art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with sacred wisdom."

R. V. ii. 22, 1 (S. V. i. 457).—*Trīkadrukeshu mahisho yavāsīraṁ twiśushmas tripat somam apibad Vishṇunā sutaṁ yathā 'vasat | sa im ma-māda mahi karma kartave mahām uruṁ sa enaṁ saschad devo devaṁ satyam Indram satyaḥ Induḥ |* "The great [Indra], of mighty force, satiating himself, has drunk the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth by Vishṇu at the Trikadruka ceremony, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R. V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasṭhe dhruve ā nishatto antar dyāvā māhine haryamānaḥ | ākre sapatnī ajare amṛikte sabardughe urugāyasya<sup>31</sup> dhenū |* "The great [god, Agni,] is seated in his firm abode, beloved, between the mighty heaven and earth,—those two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], united, undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water." Agni himself may be the "wide-stepping god" intended here.

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṇuṁ stomāsaḥ puru-dasman arkāḥ bhagasyeva kārino yūmani gman | urukramaḥ kakuho yasya pūrvīr na mardhanti yuvalayo janitriḥ |* "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṇu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of their lord. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose [will] the numerous, youthful, mothers do not disregard."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṇur gopāḥ<sup>32</sup> paramam pāti pāthāḥ<sup>33</sup> priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ | Agnis tā viśvā bhuvanāni veda mahad devānām asuratvam ekam |* "Vishṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,<sup>34</sup> undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

<sup>31</sup> *Prithugamanasya adhika-stuter vā*; Sāyana, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

<sup>32</sup> Compare R. V., i. 22, 18. The word Vishṇu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading." The hymn is, however, according to the Anukramanikā, one addressed to all the gods.

<sup>33</sup> *Pāthāḥ* occurs also in R. V. i. 154, 5. See above.

<sup>34</sup> Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimita*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇam Mitrām eṣāṁ Indrā-Viṣṇu Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-asvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhaḥ ā id u vaḥa su-haviṣe janāya* | “Agni, [do thou, who hast] ‘beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Viṣṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins” (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā mahe puṣṭim-bharāya Pūṣṇe kad Rudrāya sumakhāya havir-do | kad Viṣṇave uru-gāyāya reto<sup>35</sup> bravaḥ kad Agne S'arave bṛihatyai* | “Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūṣhan? why to Rudra, the vigorous, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Viṣṇu? why to the great Saru (Nirṛiti?).”

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—*Uta mālā mahiṣham anvacenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ | Atha abravīd Vṛitraṁ Indro hanishyan sakhe Viṣṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva* | “And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra], saying, ‘My son, those gods forsake thee.’ Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛitra, said, ‘Friend Viṣṇu, do thou stride vastly.’”

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—*Sakhe Viṣṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva dyaur dehi lokam vajrāya viṣhkabhe | hanāva Vṛitraṁ rinachāva sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave viśriṣṭāḥ* | “‘Friend Viṣṇu, stride vastly;’ Sky, give room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Vṛitra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulse of Indra.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repas* = *āgas*, “sin.” But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *sarave*, so as to give the sense, “our sin (understood), which is the occasion for the great arrow of destruction.” Böhtlingk and Roth render *retas* by “libation.”

<sup>36</sup> The Taittirīya Sanhita, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Viṣṇu: *Tasmād Indro 'bīḥed api Tvashṭā | Tvashṭū tasmai vajram asinchat | tapo vai sa vajrah āsit | tam udyantum na āsaknat | a'ha vai tarhi Viṣṇur anyū devatū āsit | so 'bravid "Viṣṇav ehi idam āharishyāvo yena ayam-idam" iti | sa Viṣṇus tredhā ātmānam vinyadhata prithivyām trīṭīyam antarikṣhe trīṭīyam divi trīṭīyam | abhiparyāvartād hy abibhet | yat prithivyām trīṭīyam āsit tena Indro vajram udāyachhad Viṣṇo-anushṭītaḥ | sa 'bravid "mā me prahūḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat te pradāsyāmi" iti | tad aśmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagriṇhāt | "adhūḥ mā" iti tad Viṣṇave 'tīrāyachhat | tad Viṣṇuḥ pratyagriṇhād "asmāu Indrah indriyam dadhāt" iti | yad antarikṣhe trīṭīyam āsit tena Indro vajram udāyachhad Viṣṇo-anushṭītaḥ | so 'bravid "mā me prahūḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat*

**R.V. iv. 55, 4.**—*Vi Aryamā Varuṇas cleti panthām iśhas-patiḥ su-vitām gātum Agniḥ | Indrā-Vishṇuṁ nri-vad u shu stavānā śarma no yan-tam amavād varūtham |* 'Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and Vishṇu, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection."

**R.V. v. 3, 1-3.**—*Tvam Agne Varuṇojāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi yat samiddhaḥ | tes viśve sahasas-putra dāvās tvam Indro dāsushe mart-*

*te pradāsyāmi*" iti | *tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagrihṇāt* | "dvir mā adhāḥ" iti *tad Vishṇave atiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagrihṇād* "asmāsv Indrāḥ indriyāṁ dadhātu" iti | *yad divi tritīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇu-anu-shīhitāḥ | so 'bravīt mā me prahāḥ | yena ahaṁ idam asmi "tat te pradāsyāmi" iti | "tvī" ity abravīt | "sandhām tu sandadhānuhai | tvām eva praviśāmi" iti | "yan mām praviśeḥ kim mā bhunjyāḥ" ity abravīt | "tvām eva indhīya tava bhogāya tvām pravideyam" ity abravīt | taṁ Vṛitraḥ praviśat | udarām vai Vṛitraḥ | kshut khalu vai manushyasya bhrūtrivyaḥ | yaḥ evaṁ veda hanti kshudham bhrūtrivyaḥ | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagrihṇāt | "trir mā 'dhāḥ" iti tad Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagrihṇād* "asmāsv Indrāḥ indriyāṁ dadhātu" iti | *yat triḥ prāyachhat triḥ pratyagrihṇāt tat tridhātoḥ tridhātutvam | yad Vishṇur anvatishṭhata Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat tasmād Aindrāvaiśhṇavāṁ havir bhavati* | "Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvashṭri. Tvashṭri moistened for him the thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-fervour (*tapas*). He could not lift it. Now there was another deity, Vishṇu. Indra said: 'Come, Vishṇu, we two will take that whereby he is this [which he is].' Vishṇu divided himself into three parts, [placing] one on earth, a second in the air, and a third in the sky. For he was afraid of [Vṛitra's] development (*abhiparyāvartāt*: *yaśmūd aśya Vṛitraya abhiparyāvartāt sarva-dig-vyāpi-rūpāyāḥ vridūlher aśam Indro 'bibhet*, Comm.). With the third [of Vishṇu] which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by Vishṇu. Vṛitra said, 'Do not smite me: there is in me this energy: that I will give to thee.' He gave, and Indra took it, and passed it on to Vishṇu, [saying,] 'Thou hast supported me.' Vishṇu received it, [saying], 'May Indra impart energy to us.' Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishṇu] which was in the air," etc., as before. "Indra passed it on to Vishṇu, saying, 'Thou hast twice supported me,'" etc. "Indra then, followed by Vishṇu, lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishṇu] which was in the sky. Vṛitra said, 'Do not smite me; I will give thee that whereby I am that [which I am].' Indra agreed. 'Let us make an agreement; let me enter into thee' [said Vṛitra]. 'If thou enterest me, wilt thou eat me?' [replied Indra]. 'I will kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment' [answered Vṛitra]. He accordingly entered into him. Vṛitra is the belly. Hunger is man's enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Vṛitra gave Indra [that whereby] he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] 'Thou hast thrice supported me,' passed it on to Vishṇu," etc., etc., as before. "From the circumstance that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the 'tridhātū' derives its character. And from the fact that Vishṇu followed Indra, and the latter passed on [what he had received] to the former, there is an oblation called 'Aindrāvaiśhṇava,' i.e. common to both the gods."

*gāya* | 2. *Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kanīṇam nānta svadhāvan gr̥hyam bibharsī* | *anjanti mitram sudhitāṁ na gobhīr yad dampatī samanasaḥ kṛinoshi* | 3. *Tava śriye Maruto marjayanta*<sup>27</sup> *Rudra yat te jamina chāru chitram* | *padaṁ yad Viṣṇor upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyaṁ nāma gonām* |

"Thou, Agni, [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods; thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-sustaining, possessest the mysterious name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest the husband and wife to be of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts have adorned themselves, such is that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.<sup>28</sup> Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Viṣṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2-4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Viṣṇo* | *ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta* | 3. *Indrāgni Mitṛa-Varuṇā Aditiṁ svaḥ prithivīm dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ* | *huve Viṣṇum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim Bhagaṁ nu śaṁsuṁ Savitāram ūtaye* | 4. *Uta no Viṣṇur uta Vāto asridho dravinodāḥ uta Soma mayas karat* | *uta Ribhavaḥ uta rāye no Áśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhṛvā anu māṁsate* |

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and thou Viṣṇu with the Maruts. Both the Áśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, are pleased. 3. I invoke Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, the Maruts, the Mountains, the Waters, Viṣṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati; I praise Bhaga and Savitṛi, that they may succour us. 4. And may Viṣṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And the Ribhus, Áśvins, Tvashṭri, and Vibhṛva are favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R.V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajūr Mitṛa-Varuṇābhyām sajūḥ Somena Viṣṇunā* | *ā yāhi Agne Atri-vat suto rana* | "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa,

<sup>27</sup> Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.

<sup>28</sup> This refers, Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Viśhṇave Marutvate girijāḥ evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyave sukhādāye tarase bhandaḥ-iṣṭāye dhuni-vratāya śavase | . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramāḥ samānasmat ṛadasaḥ evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā evāḍ adhi śhṇubhir viśhpardhaso vimahasō jigāti śevridho nṛibhiḥ | . . . 8. Advesho no Maruto gātum ā itana śrotaḥ havam jaritūr evayāmarut | Viśhṇor mahāḥ samanyavo ghyotana smad rathyo na dāmsanā apa dveshāmsi sanutaḥ |*

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born) hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop [of Maruts], impetuous, wearing beautiful rings, strong, rushing on exultingly,—to that power which delights in resounding. . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, O Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . 8. Maruts, come in a friendly spirit to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu, like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yañ viśve Marutaḥ sajoshāḥ pachat salam mahishān Indra tubhyañ | Pūshā Viśhṇus triṇi sarāmsi dhāvan vritrahanam madiram amśum asmai |* "For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, will magnify, Pūshu and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma." <sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā pibat sākam śarāmsi triṇīśatam | Indrah somasya kṇukā*; "Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma. . . ." This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kṇukā*, at the close. See Roth's Illust. of Nir. p. 60, f. In a review of Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes, vol. ii., in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachforschung, iv. 279, f., Prof. Weber refers to this passage. "Saras, a pond," he says, "in the sense of cup (R. V. viii. 66, 4. . . ), which reminds us of the 'weltmeer' (world-ocean) of our students, is no doubt merely a poetical metaphor." See also R. V. vii. 103, 7; viii. 7, 10." In R. V. v. 29, 7 f., Agni is said to have cooked three hundred buffaloes for Indra, who ate them, and drank three lakes of soma, when proceeding to fight with Vṛitra.

R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Divo na tvbhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ dṛgbhir  
dhāyi viśvam | Ahiṁ yad Vṛitram apo vavrivāmsaṁ hant rjīśhin Viśh-  
ṇuṇā sachānaḥ* | “All divine power, like that of the Sky, was completely  
communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,<sup>40</sup> when thou, O impetuous  
[deity], associated with Viśhṇu, didst slay Vṛitra Ahi, stopping up the  
waters.”

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra ūtaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ kṛish-  
va avase no adya | pra Pūṣanaṁ Viśhṇum Agnim Purandhiṁ Savitāram  
ośadhīḥ parvatāmścha* | “Dispose to-day to our help and succour  
Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Viśhṇu, Agni, Purandhi,  
Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains.”

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Taṁ vaḥ Indram na sukratūṁ Varuṇam iva māyi-  
nam | Aryamaṇaṁ na mandraṁ śripṛa<sup>41</sup>bhojasaṁ Viśhṇuṁ na stuśhe  
ādīśe* | “I praise thee, of great power like Indra, wondrous in might  
like Varuṇa, pleasant like Aryaman, conferring large enjoyment like  
Viśhṇu, that thou mayest bestow wealth.”<sup>42</sup>

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajāṁsi vimame<sup>43</sup> pāṛthivāni tris ohid Viśhṇur  
Manave bādhitāya | tasya te śarmann upādadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā  
tanū cha* | “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by  
wealth, under the protection afforded by thee, that Viśhṇu who thrice  
traversed the mundane regions for Manu [or the Āryan man] when he  
was oppressed.”<sup>44</sup>

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*Te no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajośah mīḥhushmanto  
Viśhṇur mṛīlantu Vāyuh | Rībhukśhāḥ Vājo daivyo vidhātā Parjanyaṁvātā  
pipyatūm iśhaṁ naḥ* | “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Saras-  
vatī, Viśhṇu, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Rībhukshan,  
Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛi (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta replenish  
our store of nutriment.”

<sup>40</sup> *Stotribhīḥ*, “worshippers,” according to Sāyaṇa.

<sup>41</sup> The word *śripṛa* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 6; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 6; and viii. 32, 10=S. V. i. 217. By Yaska, Nir. vi. 17, it is derived from the root *śrip*, “to go” (see Roth’s *Illust.*, p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyaṇa *sarpana-śīla*, “going,” *prasṛita*, “extended,” etc. (See also Benfey’s *Glossary* to the S. V.) The word *viśva-bhojasam* occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.

<sup>42</sup> Such is the sense assigned to *ādīśe* by Sāyaṇa: in Wilson’s *Sanskrit Dictionary* I find the word *pradeśana* rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends,” etc.

<sup>43</sup> *Tribhīr eva vikramaṇaḥ parimitavān* | “measured with three strides.”—Sāyaṇa. Compare R. V. i. 164, 1, above (p. 69, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).

<sup>44</sup> *Aurair hiṁsitāya* | “injured by Asuras.”—Sāyaṇa.

**R. V. vi. 69, 1-8.**—*Sam vān karmoṇā sam iṣā hinomi Indrā-Vishṇu apasas pāre asya | jushethām yajnaṁ draviṇaṁ cha dhattam arishṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā | 2. Yā viśvasāṁ janitārā matinām Indrā-Vishṇu kalasā soma-dhānā | pra vām girāḥ śasyamānōḥ avantu pra stomāso gīyamānāso arkaiḥ | 3. Indrā-Vishṇu mada-patī madānām ā somaṁ yātāṁ draviṇo dadhānā | sam vām anjantu aktubhir matinām sam stomāsaḥ śasyamānāsaḥ ukthaiḥ | 4. Ā vām āsvāso abhimāti-śāhaḥ Indrā-Vishṇu sadhamādo vahantu | jushethām viśvā havanā matinām upa brahmāni śrinutām giro me | 5. Indrā-Vishṇu tat panayāyyaṁ vām somasya made uru chakramāthe | akrinutam antarikṣhaṁ variyo aprathataṁ jīvaso no rajāṁsi | 6. Indrā-Vishṇu haviṣā vāvṛidhānā agrādvānā namasā rūtahavyā | ghrīlāsuti draviṇaṁ dhattam asme samudraḥ sthaḥ kalasāḥ somadhānāḥ | 7. Indrā-Vishṇu pibatam mādhuvo asya somasya dasrā jaṣharaṇaṁ prinethām | ā vām andhāṁsi madirāni agmann upa brahmāni śrinutām havam me | 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) Ubhā jigyaṭhur na parā jayethe na parā jigye kataraschanainoḥ | Indrascha Vishṇo yad apaspridhethām tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām |*

"Indra and Vishṇu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and are, [as it were,] the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṇu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you<sup>45</sup> twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotions and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṇu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;<sup>46</sup> ye made the

<sup>45</sup> Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

<sup>46</sup> The commentator remarks on this: *Yadyapi Vishṇor eva vikramas tathāpy ekūr-thatēvā ubhayor ity uchyate* | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishṇu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Śiva.



atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence.<sup>46</sup> 6. Indra and Vishṇu, gladdened by our oblation, ye to whom are due the first draughts of the soma, ye to whom offerings should be presented with reverence, and to whom butter is offered, bring us wealth, for ye are the ocean, the bowl in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishṇu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishṇu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."<sup>47</sup>

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (= A. V. xix. 10, 9).—*S'aṁ no Aditir bhavatu vratabhiḥ śaṁ no bhavantu Marutaḥ sū-arkāḥ | śaṁ no Viśṇuḥ śaṁ u Pūṣā no astu śaṁ no bhavitraṁ śam u astu Vāyuḥ* | "May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishṇu, may Pūshan, may the Air,<sup>48</sup> may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

<sup>46</sup> Comp. i. 165, 5, above.

<sup>47</sup> The commentator explains this as follows. *Yad yad vastu praty apaspridhethām asuraḥ saha aspridhethāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā tridhā sthitaṁ sahasraṁ anītaṁ cha vi tad airayethām vyakramethām ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brūhmaṇam ubhā jigyathur ity achēhāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jigyathur na parājayetha na parājigye iti na hi tayorḥ kataraschana parājigye 'Indraś cha Viśṇo yad apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām' iti | Indraś cha ha vai Viśṇuḥ cha asurair gnyudhāte tūn ha sma jiteṁ ūchatuḥ "kalpāmaha" iti | te ha tathā ity asurāḥ ūchuḥ | so 'bravīt Indro "yūvad evāyaṁ Viśṇus trir vikramate tūvad asmākam atha yushmākam itarad" iti | sū imān lokān vichakrame 'tho vedān atho vācāḥ | tad āhuḥ "kiṁ tat sahasraṁ" iti "ime lokāḥ ime vedāḥ atho vāg" iti brūyāt | "airayethām airayethām" ity achēhāvākāḥ ukthya 'bhyasyati | Ait. Br. 6, 15 (see Prof. Haug's translation, pp. 403, f.). "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15.] says: 'ye both conquered; this is what the Achēhāvāka priest [repeats]: for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished' [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishṇu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, let us divide [the world]. The Asuras said, be it so. Indra said, As much as this Vishṇu strides over in three strides, so much shall be ours; the rest yours. He strode over those worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, what is that thousand? let him say, These worlds, these Vedas, then speech. The Achēhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual, ye scattered, ye scattered."*

<sup>48</sup> The word *bhavitra* is explained by Sāyana as = *bhuvanam antarikṣham udakāṁ vā*. "The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Viṣṇuṁ nishikta-pām śravobhir ityādi* | “Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Viṣṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro divaḥ ā prithivyāḥ Mitrāṁ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamānam Aditiṁ Viṣṇum eṣhām Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām* | “Āgni, from heaven and earth bring Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Viṣṇu to the hymns of these persons; may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be gratified.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya devasya mīḥusho vayāḥ Viṣṇor eṣhasya<sup>50</sup> prabhṛithe haviṛbhīḥ | vido hi Rudro rudriyam mahitvām yāsishṭam vartir Āsvināv irāvat* | “The branches of this prolific and rapid deity Viṣṇu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Āsvins have come to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—*Dadhikrām vaḥ prathamam Āsvinā Ushasam Agniṁ samiddham Bhagam itaye huve | Indraṁ Viṣṇum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-prithivīḥ apaḥ svaḥ* | “I invoke you for succour, first Dadhikrā, the Āsvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Viṣṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, the Ādityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—*Etāḥ Agne āśushānāsāḥ iṣṭīr yuroḥ sachā abhi āsyāma vājān | mā Indro no Viṣṇur Marutaḥ parikhyann ityādi* | “Breathing forth these petitions, may we, O Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain, obtain food. Let not Indra, Viṣṇu, and the Maruts despise us,” etc.

<sup>50</sup> Bohtlingk and Roth, s.v. *eṣha*, conjecture that in this verse the correct reading is *eṣhām*, “the rapid,” as an epithet of Viṣṇu, and not *eṣhām*.

<sup>51</sup> Sāyana interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Viṣṇoḥ sarva-devātmakasya asya devasya anye devāḥ vayāḥ sākṣāḥ iva bhavanti* | “Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains *eṣhas* as follows: *Prabhṛithe haviṛbhīr havi-rūpāir annaiḥ eṣhasya prāprāṇīyasya*, “one who can be brought by oblations of food.” The same epithet *eṣha* is applied to Viṣṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Bohtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo maho Marutaḥ evayāno Viṣṇor eṣhasya prabhṛithe havāmāhe* | *ityādi* | “At the offering of the rapid Viṣṇu we invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Vidma hi Rudriyāṇām śuakham ugram Marutām simivātām* | *Viṣṇor eṣhasya mīḥushām* | “For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruts, of the rapid Viṣṇu, [all of them] prolific.”

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—*Paro mātrayā<sup>61</sup> tanvā vṣidhāna'na te mahitray<sup>62</sup>anu  
 āsmuvanti | ubho te vidma rajasī prithivyāḥ Viśhno deva tvam para-  
 masya vītes | 2. Na te Viśhno jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param  
 antam āpa | ud astabhñāḥ nākam ṛishvañ bṛihantañ dādhartha prāchiñ  
 lakubham prithivyāḥ | 3' (= Vāj. S. v. 16). Irāvati dhenumatī hi  
 bhūtañ euyavasini manusho<sup>63</sup> dāsasyā | Vi astabhñāḥ rodasi Viśhno ete  
 dādhartha prithivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ | 4. Uruñ yajnāya ohakrathur  
 u lokañ janayantā Sūryam Ushasam Agnim | dāsasya chid vṛisha-  
 siprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā prītanājyeshu | 5. Indrā-Viśhnu dṛiñ-  
 hitāḥ S'ambarasya nava puro navatiñ cha śnathishṭam | śatañ varochinaḥ  
 sahasrañ cha sūkam hattho aprati asurasya virān | 6. Iyam manishā  
 bṛihati bṛihanta urukramā tavasā vardhayanti | rare vūñ stomāñ  
 vidatheshu Viśhno pinvatam isho vṛijaneshu Indra | 7. (S. V. 2, 977 ;  
 Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) Vashaṭ tē Viśhno āsah ā kṛiñomi tad me jushasva  
 S'ipivishṭa havyam | vardhantu tvā sushtutayo giro me yūyam pūta svasti-  
 bhikḥ sadd nah |*

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishnu, knowest the remotest [world]."<sup>62</sup> 2. No one, O divine Vishnu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.<sup>63</sup> 3. [Ye two worlds,] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishnu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelope the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishnu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, destroyed in the battles the wonderful powers of the hostile (*dāsa*) Vṛishasīpra. 5. Indra and Vishnu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn gladdens you twain, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishnu and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Supply abundant nutriment in our habitations. 7. Vishnu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

<sup>61</sup> Compare *paro-mātram richishamam Indram*; R. V. viii. 57, 1.

<sup>62</sup> Yajur-veda v. 16 reads *manave*.

<sup>63</sup> Comp. R. V. i. 155, 5, above, p. 74.

<sup>64</sup> Compare Isaiah xl. 22 xlv. 12, 18.

Sipivishṭa,<sup>44</sup> favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nu marto dayate sanishyan yo Viṣṇavo urugāyāya dāsat | pra yaḥ satrāchū manasā yajāte etāvantam naryam āvivāsāt |*  
 2. *Tvaṁ Viṣṇo sumatiṁ viśvajanyām aprayutām evayāvo matiṁ dāḥ |*  
*pareho yathā naḥ suvitasya bhūrer aśvāvataḥ puruṣchandrasya rāyaḥ |*  
 3. *Trir devaḥ prithivīm eśaḥ etāṁ vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā |*  
*pra Viṣṇur astu tavasas taviyān tveshaṁ hi asya sthavirasya nāma |*  
 4. *Vi chakrame prithivīm eśaḥ etāṁ kṣhetrāya Viṣṇur manuse dāśāyan |*  
*dhruvāso asya kīrayo janāsaḥ urukṣitīm sujanimā chakūra |* 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) *Pra tat te adya Sipivishṭa*  
*nāma ayaḥ śaṁsāmi vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā grīṇāmi tavasam atavyān*  
*kshayantam asya rajasāḥ parāke |* 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) *Kim it te Viṣṇo parichakāhyam bhūt<sup>45</sup> pra yad vavakṣhe*  
*Sipivishṭo asmi | mā varpo asmad apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samitṛe*  
*babhātha |* (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Viṣṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Viṣṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice the swift god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Viṣṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name (nature) of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Viṣṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a devoted worshipper, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, Sipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and dwellest beyond this lower world. 6. What, Viṣṇu, hadst thou to blame, that thou declaredst, 'I am Sipivishṭa' ? Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See the note on this word where it occurs in the hymn next following.

<sup>45</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *parichakāhi nāma*.

<sup>46</sup> The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: *Purā khalu Viṣṇuḥ svaṁ*

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indreṇa sarathāṃ yātho Aśvinā ygf. vā Vāyuṇa bhavataḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir, Rībhūbhīḥ sajohasā yad vā Viśṇor vikramaneṣhu tiśṭhathaḥ* | “When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Ādityas and the Rībhū, or when ye abide in the strides of Viśṇu.”

*rūpaṃ parityajya kṛitrimaṃ rūpāntaraṃ dhṛtayan saṅgrāme Vasishṭhasya sākhyāyām chakāra | taṃ jānann rishir anayū pratyāchakṣṭe* | “Viśṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognizing the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse.” In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverso order. After telling us (v. 7) that, “according to Aupamanyava, Viśṇu has two names, S’ipivishṭa, and Viśṇu, of which the former has a bad sense” (*S’ipivishṭo Viśṇur iti Viśṇor dve namanī bhavataḥ | kutsīrthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ*), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiṃ te Viśṇo ‘prakhyātam etad bhavaty aprakhyāpanīyaṃ yan na prabrūṣhe | lepaḥ iva nirvr̥ṣṭito ‘smi ity apratipanna-raśmīḥ | api vā pralaṅśā-nūmaiva abhipretāṃ śyāt | kiṃ te Viśṇo prakhyātam etad bhavaty prakhyāpanīyaṃ yad uta prabrūṣhe | S’ipivishṭo ‘smi iti pratipanna-raśmīḥ | dipayo ‘tra raśmayah uchyaṃte | tair āviśṭo bhavati | mū varpo asmad apagūha etad | varpaḥ iti rūpa-nāma . . . | yad anya-rūpaḥ samitḥ saṅgrāme bhavasi saṃyata-raśmīḥ* | “What, Viśṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine, not to be declared, which thou tellest not? ‘I am enveloped like a private member,’ i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by *S’ipivishṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; ‘what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest?’ ‘I am *S’ipivishṭa*, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.’ The word ‘*īpi*’ here means ‘rays,’ with these he is pervaded. ‘Do not conceal this form:’ *varpas* is a word meaning ‘form.’ . . . ‘That thou art of another form in the battle (*samitḥ = saṅgrāme*), with thy rays withheld.’” See Taitt. S., vol. ii., p. 585. On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir. v. 9: “*Tat te ‘dya S’ipivishṭa nāma aṛyaḥ tāṃśūti*” | *aryo ‘ham aśmi tīvaraḥ atomānūm | aṛyas tvam aśi iti vā | taṃ tvā śtaumi tavasom atavyāṃs tavasaḥ iti mahato nāmadheyam uditō bhavati | nivasantam aśya rajasah parāke parākṛānte* | “‘I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, *S’ipivishṭa*.’ I am *aryaḥ*, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. ‘I, weak, praise thee, the strong.’ *Tavasa* is a word used for ‘great.’ ‘Dwelling beyond (*parāke = parākṛānte*) this lower world.’” From the above quotation, it appears that even in the time of Yāska, the sense of the word *S’ipivishṭa* was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Kṛishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (if the writer intended to represent Yāska as the Vedic rishi by whom the word was first applied to Viśṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S’ipivishṭeti chākhyāyām ānarmā oha go bhavet | tenāviśṭam tu yat kinchid Chhipivishṭeti oha smritāḥ | Yāsko mām rishir aṛyagro naita-yajnesḥ gītavān | S’ipivishṭaḥ iti hy aśmād guhya-nāma-dhara hy aham | etutvā mām S’ipivishṭeti Yāskaḥ sarshir utāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasādād adho naṣṭam Niruktam abhijagmīṣān* | “A bald man is designated by the word *S’ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that is called *S’ipivishṭa*. Yāska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of *S’ipivishṭa*. Yāska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as *S’ipivishṭa*, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed.”

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . *Bṛihaspatiṁ Viśvāndevān ahaṁ huve* *Indrā-Viṣṇu Aśvināv āṇu-heshasā* | “I invoke Bṛihaspati, the Viśve-devas, Indra and Viṣṇu, and the Aśvins with quickly neighing steeds.”

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam* *Indra Viṣṇavi yad vā gha Trita Āptye* | *yad vā Marutuṁ mandasā sam* *indubhiḥ* | . . . 25. *Yad Indra pritanājyo devās tvā dadhīro puraḥ* | *ād it te haryatā harī vacakṣhatuḥ* | 26. *Yadā Vṛitraṁ nadi-vṛitaṁ* *savasā vajrinn abadhīḥ* | *ād id ityādi* | 27. *Yadā te Viṣṇur ojasā trīṇi* *padā vichakrame* | *ād id ityādi* |

“Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Viṣṇu, or with Trita Āptya, or with the Maruts art exhilarated by libations. . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds waxed strong. 26. When, thouderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛitra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Viṣṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds waxed strong.”

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996, f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tava* *dyaur Indra paunṣyam prithivī vardhati śravaḥ* | *tvām āpaḥ parvatāsas* *cha hinvire* | 9. *Tvām Viṣṇur bṛihan kṣhaya*<sup>67</sup> *Mitro grīṇāti Varuṇaḥ* | *tvām śardho madati anu mārutam* | 10. *Tvām vṛiṣhā janānām mañ-* *hishṭhaḥ Indra jājnishe* | *satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhīshe* |

8. “Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Viṣṇu, who dwells on high, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Of all beings, thou, Indra, hast been born the most bountiful hero; thou hast made all things altogether prolific.”

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāvam uruṣyata divā-naktaṁ sūdānavaḥ* | *ariṣhyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi* | 12. *Aghnate Viṣṇave vayam ariṣh-* *yantaḥ sūdānave* | *śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittaye* | 13. (Nir. v. 1) *Tad vāryam vṛiṇimahe varishṭhaṁ gopayatyam* | *Mitro yat pānti Varuṇo* *ṇad Aryamā* | 14. *Uta naḥ 'sindhur apām tad Marutas tad Aśvina* | *Indro Viṣṇur midhvāmśaḥ sajoshasaḥ* |

<sup>67</sup> Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *kṣhaya* by “king.” Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihan kṣhayaḥ* by “high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods.” He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *bṛiṣat-kṣhayaḥ*, “who dwells on high.”

"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our 'bard'<sup>88</sup> night and day. / May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṇu. Listen, O self-moving Ocean, [to us] as your first thought. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the Ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishṇu, all of them prolific, associated together, [bestow] that upon us."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Pūshan mākinayā dhīyā | Indrah āyātu prathamah samishyubhir vṛishā yo vṛitrahā grīṇe |* "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṇu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire [his blessing], as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛitra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishṇu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described :

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishuṇaḥ sūnaro yuvā anjī ankīto hranyayām | 2. Yonm ekaḥ ā sasāda dyotano antar deveshu medhiraḥ | 3. Vāśim eko bibharti haste āyasīm antar deveshu nidhruviḥ | 4. Vayram eko bibharti haste āhitaṁ tena vṛitrāṇi jighnute | 5. Tigmam eko bibharti haste āyudhaṁ śuchir ugro jalūsha-bheshajaḥ | 6. Pathaḥ ekaḥ pīpāya tasharo yathā esha veda nidhīnām | 7. Tīṇi ekaḥ urugāyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti | 8. Vībhir dvā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāsā va vasataḥ | 9. Sato dvā chakrāte upamā divi samrājā sarpirāsutī | 10. Archantaḥ eke mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan |*

"One<sup>89</sup> is a youth, brown, variable,<sup>90</sup> active. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,<sup>91</sup> luminous, has seated himself on the place

<sup>88</sup> Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nācam* is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a mass. noun from the root *nu*, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5. *Induṁ nāvūḥ anūshata |* where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

<sup>89</sup> Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gaṇa*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *babhru*, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

<sup>90</sup> Bohtlingk and Roth understand *vishuṇa* of the changing phases of the moon.

<sup>91</sup> Agni, according to the commentator. *Ata yonm itī langād Agnur arochate |*

of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another<sup>63</sup> holds in his hand an iron axe, steadfast, among the gods. 4. Another<sup>64</sup> holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he slays his enemies. 5. Another,<sup>65</sup> bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another<sup>66</sup> watches the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,<sup>67</sup> wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others]<sup>67</sup> ride on birds (horses) with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],<sup>68</sup> the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some, worshipping, have meditated a great sâma-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Ā śarma parvatānām vṛjimahe nadinām ā Viśṇoḥ sachā-bhuvāḥ* | "We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishnu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—1. *Agninā Indreṇa Varuṇena Viśṇunā Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibātam Āśvinā* | 14. *Angirasvantā uta Viśṇuvantā Marutvantā jaritūr gachchatho havam ityādi* | "Āsṛins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishnu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishnu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Viśṇur ābharad urukramas tvā ishitaḥ* | *śatam mahishān kshīra-pākam odanaṁ varūham Indra emuṣham* | "The wide-striding Vishnu, urged by thee, O Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to

<sup>63</sup> Tvastṛi.

<sup>64</sup> Indra.

<sup>65</sup> Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, *jālāśha-bheśhaja*, is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jālāśha*, "healing."

<sup>66</sup> Pūshan.

<sup>67</sup> Vishnu.

<sup>68</sup> The Āsṛins. In various passages of the R. V., the daughter of the Sun is said to ride on the car of the Āsṛins. See the account of these deities in the fifth volume of this work. In R. V. v. 73, 5, the goddess is called Sūryā.

<sup>69</sup> Mitra and Varuṇa.



some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, 'quoted in p. 67), in which Vishṇu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog, and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 81. See also the note there.

Sāyana gives two explanations of the verse (viii. 66, 10), that of the Nairuktas or etymologists, and that of the Aitihasikas or recorders of legends. I cite the latter only. The story there told is the same as I have already cited above (pp. 39 f.) from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā; but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the following quotation consists of Sāyana's own application of two Vedic texts, R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted above, p. 67, and viii. 66, 10, which has just been given.

*Aitiḥāsika-pakṣe | charaka-brāhmaṇe itiḥāsaḥ ūpnāyate | "Viṣṇur yajnaḥ | sa devebhyāḥ ātmānam antarahāt | tam anya-devatāḥ na avindan | Indras tv avet | sa Indram abravīt 'ko bhavān' iti | tam Indrah pratyabravīt 'aham durgānām asurānām cha hantā | bhavāns tu kaḥ' iti | so 'bravīt 'aham durgād āhartā | tvam tu yadi durgānām asurānām cha hantā tato 'yaṁ varāho vāma-mushaḥ ekaviṁśatyāḥ purāṁ pūre 'śmanmayīnām vasati | tasminn asurānām vasu vāmaṁ asti | tam imaṁ jahi' iti | tasya Indras tūḥ puro bhittvā hridayam avidhyat | adhi tatra yad āst tad Viṣṇur āharat" iti | so 'yam itiḥaso "asya id u mātuḥ savaneṣu" "viśvā it tā Viṣṇur" ity ūbhyām pratipāditaḥ | tayoṛ madhye "asya id u mātur" ity atra Viṣṇunā "he Indra tvam 'durgānām hantā' ity ātmānaṁ kathayasi tarhi vāma-mushaṁ varāham asuraṁ jahi" ity uktārtho "vidhyaḥ varāham" iti pādēna pratipāditaḥ | Indreṇa cha 'Viṣṇo tvam "durgād āhartā" iti brūṣhe | mayā purāṇi jītāny asuraś cha ghātitaḥ tasya vāmaṁ vasu ānaya' ity ukto Viṣṇu-mūrtis tasya Varāḥasurasya dhanam mumoṣha | so 'rtho "mushāyad Viṣṇuḥ pachatam" iti pādēna sūchitaḥ | sa kim punar mushitavān iti tad atra uchyate "viśvā it tā" iti |*

"On the part of the Aitiḥāsikas a story is recorded in the Charaka Brāhmaṇa (i.e. the Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda): 'Viṣṇu is the sacrifice. He withdrew himself from the sight of the gods. The other gods did not discover him; but Indra knew [where he was]. He said to Indra, Who art thou? Indra replied, I am the destroyer of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am he who

removes [the spoil] from the castle: but if thou art the destroyer of castles and Asuras, then this Varāha, a plunderer of goods, dwells on the other side of twenty-one stone ramparts; in him abide the wealth and property of the Asuras: slay him. Indra broke through these ramparts, and pierced his heart; and Vishṇu carried off all that was found there.' This story is set forth in the two verses, the one beginning 'Having at the libations,' etc. (R. V. i. 61, 7), and 'The wide-striding Vishṇu,' etc. (viii. 66, 10). In the fourth quarter of the first of these verses the words 'pierced the boar' (Varāha) refer to the clause of this story in which Vishṇu says, 'Thou, Indra, callest thyself a destroyer of castles; slay then the Asura Varāha, the plunderer of goods.' The third quarter of the same verse, 'the impetuous Vishṇu stole the cooked mugs,' alludes to the other clause of the story in which the being in the form of Vishṇu, being addressed by Indra in the words, 'Vishṇu, thou callest thyself the being who carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the castles and slain the Asura; now, therefore, bring the treasures plundered, the property of the Asura Varāha.' But what was it that he plundered? That is declared in the words, the wide-striding Vishṇu, etc. (viii. 66, 10)." The verse is then explained. The story in the Brāhmaṇa seems to be made up from the obscure hints in the hymns.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eshām Vishṇo sajātyūnām | ita Maruto Aśvinā* | "Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somaḥ arshanti Vishṇave* | "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṇave* | "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu." ~

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tram Indrāya Vishṇave svādur Indo pari srava | nr̥ṇ stotṛiṇ pāhi aṁhasaḥ* | "Indu, do thou flow, sweet, to Indra, to Vishṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vishṇave somaḥ kalāś aksharat | madhumān astu Vāyave* | "The soma, when poured forth, flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu."

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Apsāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Maruḍbhyaḥ | somo arshati Viṣṇave* | “Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Viṣṇu.”

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitrāṃ matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Viṣṇuni | matsi bārdho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya* | “Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitrā, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Viṣṇu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts, thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnām janitā divo janitā prithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Viṣṇoḥ* | “Soma is purified [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the Sky, the generator of the Earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Viṣṇu.”

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-*pariśiṣṭa*, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matīnām prakūṣa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām divo dyotana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām prithivyāḥ prathana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Agner gati-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Sūryasya svikaraṇa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Indrasya aiśvarya-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām Viṣṇor vyāpti-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnām ity adhidāivatam | atha adhyātman | somaḥ ātmā apy elasmād eva indriyānām janitā ity arthaḥ | api vā sarvābhir vibhātībhir vābhūtata (?) ātmā ity ātma-gatim āchashṭe* | “Soma is purified. Soma is ‘sūrya’ (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the Sky, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the Earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svikaraṇa*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is sovereignty; of Viṣṇu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations.”

R. V. ix. 166, 6. (=S. V. ii. 366).—*Pavasva vāja-sātamah pavitre dhāraya sutaḥ | Indrāya Soma Vishṇave devobhyo madhumattamāḥ |* "Soma, be purified, dispenser of strength, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishṇu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Vishṇur iṭhā paramam caya vidvān jāto brīhann abhi pāti tṛtīyam | aśa yad aśya payo akṛatā evaṁ sachetaso abhi achanti atra |* "Vishṇu, knowing thus his (Agni's) highest [birth-place], when born, the great being, protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face."<sup>60</sup>

R. V. x. 65, 1.—*Agnir Indro Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūṣhā Sarasvatī sajoṣhasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishṇur Marutaḥ Svar brīhat Somo Rudro Aditir Brahmanaspatiḥ |* "Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Ādityas, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great Sky, Soma, Rudrā, Aditi, Brahmanaspati."

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—*Aditir dyāvā-prithivī ṛitam mahad Indrā-Vishṇu Marutaḥ Svar brīhat | devān Ādityān avase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitāraṁ sudaṁsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhir Varuṇo dhṛitāvṛataḥ Pūṣhā Vishṇur mahimā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahma-kṛito amṛitāḥ viśva-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁśan trivarūtham amhasaḥ |*

"We invoke Aditi, Heaven and Earth, the great Ceremonial, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great Sky, the divine Ādityas, to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitṛi, the wonder-working. 5. May Sarasvat, through our prayers, may Varuṇa, whose ordinances are fixed, Pūshan, Vishṇu, the great Power, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the immortals, offerers of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection from evil."

R. V. x. 92, 11.—*Te hi dyāvā-prithivī bhūri-rotasā Narāsāmsaḥ chaturango Yamo 'ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭā Draviṇodāḥ Ribhukshanaḥ prarodasī Maruto Vishṇur arhire |* "The prolific Heaven and Earth, the four-limbed Narāsansa, Yamā, Aditi, the god Tvashṭri, Draviṇodas, the Ribhukshans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishṇu have been honoured."

R. V. x. 113, 1.—*Tam aśya dyāvā-prithivī sachetasā viśvebhīr devair anu tushmam āvatām | yad ait kṛinvāno mahimānam indriyam pītvi somasya kratumān avardhata | 2. Tam aśya Vishṇur mahimānam ojasā*<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.

<sup>61</sup> The same combination of words, *mahimānam ojasā*, occurs in R. V. v. 81, 3, above, p. 72.

*aṁśuṁ dadhanvān madhuno vi.rapśate | dṛeḇbhīr Indro maghavā payā-  
vabhir Vṛitraṁ jaghanvān abhavad varenyaḥ* | “The concordant heaven  
and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his.  
When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the  
soma, the powerful god exulted. 2. Vishṇu, in his might, bringing  
the soma plant, [the source of] his greatness, is full of the honied  
juice. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vṛitra,  
became distinguished.”

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 38).—*Mama devāḥ vīhave santu sarve  
Indravanto Maruto Viśṇur Agnir ityādi* | “May the gods all attend  
on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni,” etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somaṁ rājānam  
avase 'gniṁ gīrbhīr havāmaḥ*<sup>70</sup> | *Ādityān Viśṇuṁ Sūryam brahmā-  
ṇaṇcha Bṛihaspatim* | . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Arya-  
maṇam Bṛihaspatim Indraṁ dānāya chodaya | Vātaṁ Viśṇuṁ Saras-  
vatīm Savitāranocha vājinam* | “We invoke with hymns king Soma,  
to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest Bṛihaspati.  
5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛihaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṇu,  
Sarasvatī, and Savitṛi, the heroic.”

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Prathas cha yasya Saprathas cha nāma ānushṭu-  
bhasya havisho havir yat | Dhātur dyutānāt Savitūś cha Viśṇoḥ rathan-  
taram ā jabhūra Vasishṭhaḥ* | 2. *Avindan te atihitāṁ yad āsīd yajnasya  
dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat | Dhātur dyutānād Savitūś cha Viśṇor Bhar-  
advājo bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ* | 3. *Te 'vindan manasū dīdhyānāḥ yajuh  
skannam prathamāṁ devayānam | Dhātur dyutānād Savitūś cha Viśṇor  
ā Sūryād abharan gharman etc* |

“Vasishṭha has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and  
from Vishṇu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold  
sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These  
[sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret  
abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received the Bṛihat from the  
shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, from Vishṇu, and from Agni. 3. Con-  
templating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended  
Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātṛi, Savitṛi,  
Vishṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharman.”

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 5, 25, 5).—*Viśṇur yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvashṭā*

<sup>70</sup> The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads *anvārabhāmaḥ* instead of *gīrbhīr havāmaḥ*.

*rūpāṇi pīṁṣatu | a vīnohatu Prajāpatiṛ Dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātu te |*  
 "Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvashtṛi mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātṛi form the embryo."

SECT. II.—*Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.*

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishṇu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 64 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śākapūṇi and Aurnavābha, on the character of Vishṇu. The former regards him as a god who, in what are called his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurnavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishṇu's three strides as the rising, culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishṇu as taking vast strides.

As the peculiar divine office of Vishṇu, indicated by his three steps, stages, or stations, was differently understood by the oldest interpreters whose opinions have been handed down to us, it is natural to suppose that it was not so clearly defined or understood as the functions of some of the other gods, as Agni and Indra for example. But the specific character of many, I may say most, of the Vedic gods is far from being distinctly determined in the hymns.

Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishṇu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun, the dawn and fire; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received

the homage of Varuṇa; while in R. V. vii. 99, 2, his greatness is described as having no limit within the ken of present or future beings. The attributes ascribed to Viṣṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these latter stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Viṣṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Viṣṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in R. V. iv. 18, 11, vi. 20, 2, and viii. 89, 12, he is the associate of Indra; in another text (R. V. viii. 15, 9), Viṣṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Viṣṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Viṣṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Viṣṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Rishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Viṣṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Viṣṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Viṣṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.<sup>71</sup>

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dirghāya cakshase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādī* | “Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar,” etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— . . . *ayachkathāḥ bāhor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ dṛiṣe* | . . . 12. *Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanah svabhūty-ojāḥ avase dhṛiṣhan-manah | chakṛiṣhe bhūmim pratimānam ojasah apah svaḥ paribhūr eshi ā divam* | 13. *Tvam dhruvāḥ pratimānam prithivyāḥ riṣhva-vīrasya bṛihataḥ patir bhūḥ | viśvam ā aprāḥ antarikṣham mahitvā satyam addha nakir anyas tvāvān* | 14. *Na yasya dyāvā-prithivī anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānaśuḥ | nota svarīṣhtim made asya yudhyataḥ eko anyach chakṛiṣhe viśvam ānushak* |

“Thou hast grasped in thino arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed. . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart<sup>72</sup> of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled<sup>73</sup> the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.<sup>74</sup> 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain (?); thou alone hast made everything else in due succession.”

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Divaś chid asya varinā vi papratho Indram na mahnū prithivī chana prati* | “His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness.”

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id eva prarīriche mahitvāṁ divas prithivyāḥ pari antarikṣhāt ityādī* | “His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere,” etc.

<sup>71</sup> Compare the additional texts of the same tenor in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the second volume of this work, p. 362.

<sup>73</sup> Compare R. V. i. 81, 6; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

<sup>74</sup> Compare R. V. i. 81, 6; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).



R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā papram pāṛthivāṃ rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | na tvāvān Indra kśāhāna na jāto na janishyat- ati viśvāṃ vavakshītha |* “He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe.”

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tiro dhāmīr nripate triṇi rochanā | ati idam viśvam bhuvanāṃ vavakshītha aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi |* “The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy.”<sup>75</sup>

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachcha vajrena hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja | ahann Ahiṃ ityādi |* “He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi,” etc.

R. V. i. 121, 2.—*Stambhād hā dyām ityādi | 3. . . . tastambhād dyām chatushpade naryūya dvipade |* “He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man.”

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātoḥ eva prathamō manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūḥat*<sup>76</sup> | *Yasya śuśhmād rodasī abhyasetām nrimṇasya mahnā sa janūsaḥ Indrah | 2. Yaḥ prithivīm vyathamānām adṛimhad yaḥ parvatūn prakupitūn aramnāt | yo antarikṣhaṃ vimame variyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa janūsaḥ Indrah | 9. . . . Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janūsaḥ Indrah | 13. Dyāvā chid asmai prithivī namete śuśhmāch chid asya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi |*

“He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains;

<sup>75</sup> Compare R.V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

<sup>76</sup> *Kratunā karmaṇā paryabhavat paryagṛihāt paryarakṣad atyagrāmad vā . . . nrimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena.*—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *iti risher dṛiṣṭīrthasya prītur bhavaty ākhyāna-saṃyuktā |* “Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative.”

who measured" the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra. 9. . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unshaken, he, O men, is Indra. . . 13. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid," etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satya satyasya karaṇāni vochaṃ | trikadrakeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna |* 2. *Avāṇśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam a rodasi aprīṇad antarikṣham | sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathach cha somasya tā made Indras chakāra |* 3. *Sadmeva prācho vi mimūya mānair ityādi |*

"I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. From the three cups Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty space;<sup>77</sup> he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He measured with measures the eastern (regions) as an abode," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Ni sāmānām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahim apūrām sadane sasattha | astabhād dyām vṛishabho antarikṣham arahantu āpas tvayecha prasūtāḥ |* "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the blooming,<sup>78</sup> earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāna id namasā vṛiddham Indram bṛihantam rishvam ajaram yuvānam | yasya priye mamatur yajniyasya na rodasi mahimānam mamāto |* 8. *Indrasya karma sukritā puruṇi vratāni devāḥ na minanti viśve | dādhūra yaḥ prithivīm dyām utemām jajāna sūryam uhasam sudaṁsāḥ |* 9. *Adrogha satyaṁ tava tad mahitvaṁ sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somam | na dyāvah Indra tavasas te ojo nāhā na māśāḥ śarado varanta<sup>80</sup> |*

<sup>77</sup> Compare R. V. i. 164, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above, p. 69 ff.; and R. V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. The word here, however, may mean "constructed." With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 110).

<sup>78</sup> Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

<sup>79</sup> Bohtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, explain *ishira* as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

<sup>80</sup> Compare verse 16 of this same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Na tvā bṛihanto adrayo varanta |* "The mighty mountains do not stop thee."

"We worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the 'youthful' The beloved<sup>81</sup> worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.<sup>82</sup> 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. 9. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons, can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty."

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam prithivīm harivarpasam | adhārayad ityādi* | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form," etc.<sup>83</sup>

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Pavakṣhe Indro amitam ṛjīṣhī ubhe ā prapau rodasī mahitvā | atas chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva* | "The impetuous<sup>84</sup> Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds."

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛitrahān | nakir eva yathā tvam* | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛitra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha kṣhām mahi dāṁso vi ūrvīm upa dyām ṛishvo bṛihad Indra stabhāyaḥ | adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātara yāvhi rītasya* | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty

<sup>81</sup> Sūyana explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus. "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root *mā* "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatuh* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatuh* or *mamnathuh*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasavān* for *sasavān*; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān asi yasya te nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ | mamnāte Indra rodasī* | "Thou art great, (thou) to whose energy the self-supporting Heaven and Earth have submitted themselves."

<sup>83</sup> In the hymn from which this verse is taken, the changes are rung on the words *hari*, *harita*, etc.

<sup>84</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *ṛjīṣhī*, and Benfey's note 260, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his "Orient and Occident." The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S. V., p. 162. See also his Glossary to the Sāmaveda, s.v. *ṛjīṣhī*.

works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, of whom the gods are the offspring, the ancient and mighty parents of holy rites."

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—*Satyam it tad na tvāvān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi* | "This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like thee, Indra, or greater than thee," etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā achyutā chit chyāvayante rajāṁsi | dyāvā-kṣhāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvaṁ dr̥lham bhayate ajmann ā te* | "Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming."

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkair ityādi* | "I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying."

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tavishibhis tvishmaḥ ityādi* | "Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds," etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—*Tva id Indra avamaṁ vasu tvam pushyasi madhyamam | satrā viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vrinvate* | . . . 22. *Abhi tvā śura nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ | īśānam asya jagataḥ swardṛṣiṣam īśānam Indra tasthushaḥ* | 23. *Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jātō na janishyate ityādi*<sup>88</sup> |

"Thine, O Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou possessest the middle; verily thou rulest over all the very highest; none resist thee among the cattle. . . . 22. We, O heroic Indra, like un milked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee."

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V. 20, 87, 3).— . . . *Ā Indra paprātha uru antarikṣhaṁ yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha* | . . . "Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods."<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> This entire hymn is translated in Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 543 ff.

<sup>89</sup> The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivaś*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: *am̐hoḥ rājan varivaś Pūruve kaḥ* | "Thou affordedst relief to Pūru from his strait." The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāṁsi kṛṇvan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean "wealth."

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—*Indro mahā rodasi paprathach chhavaḥ Indraḥ sūryam arochayat* | *Indre ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire ityādi* | "The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: on Indra all the worlds are supported," etc.<sup>87</sup>

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—*Abhrātṛivyo anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sañād asi* | *yudhā id āpitvam ichhase* | "Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance."

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitā divo janitā prithivyaḥ ityādi* | "Generator of the sky, generator of the earth," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarūd asya bhuvanasya rājasi ityādi* | "Thou rulest a sole monarch over this world," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujō asamo nribhir ekaḥ kṛishkṣir ayāsyah* | *pūrvir aṣi pravāṛidhe viśvā jātāny ojasū ityādi* | "Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquerable, has surpassed in power many tribes, and all creatures."

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāvah Indra te satam satam bhūmīr uta syuh* | *na tvā vajrin sahasram sūryāḥ anu na jātam aṣṭa rodasi* | "If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could anything created, [nor] the two worlds."

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Pariśiṣhta i. 1, ff.: *Atha imāḥ atistutayaḥ ity āchakshate api vā sampratyayaḥ ova syād mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ* | . . . *Yadi te Indra satam divaḥ satam bhūmayah pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryāḥ na dyāvā-prithivyāv apy abhyasnuwītām itī* | "Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity." Then, after citing

<sup>87</sup> In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 524; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vāṛidhe vṛishnyaṁ savaḥ made sutasya viśhnavi* | "Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the exhilaration of this soma, at the sacrifice." *Vishnavi*, the word here rendered "sacrifice," is the locative case of *vishnu*. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., think the word here has this sense, as the Brāhmanas frequently employ the phrase *yajno vai Viśhnuḥ* | "Vishnu is the sacrifice." The commentator of the Vāj. Saṁhitā explains it by *sarva-śarīra-vyūpake*, "That which pervades the whole body." Sāyana, too, makes it = *kṛitama-dehasya vyūpake* |

passages referring to Agni and Varuna, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: "If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, O thunderer, nor heaven and earth, can equal thee."

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Nakīm Indro nikartave na Śakraḥ pariśaktave viśvaṁ śrinoti paśyati* | "Indra is not to be overcome, Śakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things." <sup>88</sup>

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā 'si krātva śvasota dāmsanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arkaḥ ūtaye vavartati yaṁ Gotamāḥ ajijanan* | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi ririkshe ojasā divo antebhyas* <sup>89</sup> *pari | na tvā viśvācha rajaḥ Indra pārthivam anu svadhām vavakshitha* |

"A warrior, thou surpasses all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will." <sup>90</sup>

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (≡ S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathāḥ apūrva Maghavan Vṛitra-hatyāya | tat prithivīm aprathayas tad astabhnāḥ uta dyām* | 6. *Tat te yajno ajāyata tad arkaḥ uta haskritiḥ | tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātāṁ yachcha jantvam* | <sup>91</sup>

"When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛitra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. 6. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, or shall be born."

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nu chid ādīsaṁ na minanti svarājyaṁ na devo na adhrigur janaḥ* | "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na tvā devāsaḥ āsata na martyāso adrivaḥ | viśvā*

<sup>88</sup> This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

<sup>89</sup> Instead of *antebhyaḥ* the S. V. reads *sadbhyaḥ*.

<sup>90</sup> At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *ati viśvam vavakshitha* | "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 40 f. and 132; and Müller, Transl. of R. V. vol. i. pp. 49 ff.

<sup>91</sup> Compare the words *yaj bhūtāṁ yachcha bhūvyam* in the Puruṣa Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See the first volume of this work, in the early part of which this entire hymn is translated.

*jātāni śavasa abhībhūr asi ityādi* | 10 (S. V. i. 37e). *Viśvāḥ pritanūḥ abhībhūtaraṁ naraṁ*<sup>92</sup> *sajus tatakshuḥ Indram jajanus cha rājase* | *kratvā varishṭhaṁ vare*<sup>93</sup> *āmurim uta ugram ojishṭhaṁ tavaṣam*<sup>94</sup> *tarasvinam* |

"Thee, O hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have equalled. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power, destroyer, force, strong, vigorous, and swift."

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—*Ivām Indra abhībhūr asi tvam sūryam arochayaḥ* | *viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi* | "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat* | *na tat tē anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanah* | "When Maghavan has conquered spoils<sup>95</sup> from the sun, he is like a gamester who gathers in his gains at play.<sup>96</sup> No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can imitate that thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram atakṣad āyasaṁ mayi devāso ariṣam api kratum* | *mama anikaṁ sūryasya iva dūstaram mām āryanti kṛitena kartvena cha* | "Tvashṭri fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).— . . . *viśvasmād Indrah uttaraḥ* | (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) "Indra is superior to every other."

<sup>92</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

<sup>93</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*. It is difficult to assign a sense to *vare* in the text.

<sup>94</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

<sup>95</sup> Śāyana explains *saṁvargaṁ* as = *saṁyag vṛishṭer varjayitūram* | "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *saṁvargaṁ saṁ rayiṁ jaya* | and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the S. P. Br. e.g. i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pitur dāyam upeyuḥ . . . kathaṁ nu imam api saṁvṛiṇīmahi* (Schol. *apaharemaḥ*): Ibid. *samavṛiṇjato, saṁvṛiṇkte*. S. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvaṁ yajnaṁ saṁvṛiṇya* (= *samāpti-pūroḥ saṁvṛiṇya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samvṛit samatou* "the spoiler in battles."

<sup>96</sup> The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manishinaḥ pra bhasadhvam manishām yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛṇām | Idraṁ satyair ā irayāma kṛitebhiḥ sa hi viro givanasur vidānaḥ |* 2. *Ritasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut saṁ gāreṣṭeḥyo vṛishabho gobhir ānaḥ | ud atishṭhat tavishṇo raveṇa mahānti chid saṁvivyācha rajāṁsi |* 3. *Indraḥ kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jiṣṇuḥ pathikṛit sūryāya | ād menām kṛṇvann achyuto bhuvad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajāḥ apratītaḥ |* 4. *Indro mahnū mahato arṇavasya vratā aminād Angirobhir grīṇānaḥ | purūṇi chid ni tatūna rajāṁsi dādhdra yo dharuṇaṁ satyatātā |* 5. *Indro divaḥ pratimānam pṛithivyāḥ viśvā veda savanū hanti Sushṇam | mahīm chid dyūm ā atanot sūryeṇa chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān |*

“Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us move Indra, with his genuine acts, for he is a hero, and loves our hymns. 2. The hymn has shone forth from the place of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has embraced in himself the vast regions. 3. Indra by hearing is surely aware of this [hymn]. For he, the victorious, has formed a path for the sun, and then creating the female of the bull, became the unshaken, eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra by his power has defeated the designs of the great streaming [cloud-demon];<sup>97</sup> he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation in truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all libations, slays Sushṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support.”<sup>98</sup>

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvaṁ sindhūn avāṣṛijaḥ adharācho ahann Ahiṁ | āsattrur Indra jajñishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi |* “Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe: thou possessest all that is desirable,” etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha*

<sup>97</sup> That this is the allusion in the word *arṇava* is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnū mahato arṇavasga vi mūrḍhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi |* “Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda,” etc.

<sup>98</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.



*ushāḥ iva | mahāntaṁ tvā mahināṁ samrājāṁ charehaṇinām | devī janitrī  
aṣṭjanad bhadrā janitrī aṣṭjanat*<sup>99</sup> | “When thou, Indra, like the dawn,  
didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty  
monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee.”

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother. See the earlier part of the account of this deity in the fifth volume of this work.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god :

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā vāsayaṭha uśāsam ut sūryaṁ nayatho  
jyotiṣhā eaha | upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam prithi-  
vīm mātaraṁ vi* | “Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to shine, ye  
make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky  
with a support,<sup>100</sup> ye have spread out the earth, the mother.”

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—*Indrā-Varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni  
bhūvanasya majmanā ityādi* | “Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made  
all these creatures of the world by your power,” etc.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa:

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṁ hi rājā Varuṇas ohakūra sūryāya panthām  
anu-etaṁ u ityādi* | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the  
sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvaṁ viśveṣhām Varuṇa asi rājā ye cha devāḥ asura  
ye cha martāḥ* | “Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those  
who are gods, and of those who are men.”—Quoted in Müller’s *Anc.  
Sansk. Lit.*, p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghṛitavati bhūvanānām abhisriyā ūrvī prithivī ma-  
dhu-dugho supṣasā | dyāvā-prithivī Varuṇasya dharmanā viśvakbhitā  
ajaro bhūri-rotasā* | “Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures,  
wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth  
are sustained asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant  
in fertility.”

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūṁśhi vi yas tastambha  
rodasi chid ūrvī | pra nākam riṣhvaṁ nunude bṛihantaṁ doitā nakshatram  
poprathach oha bhūma* | “Wise are his creations who by his power

<sup>99</sup> The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

<sup>100</sup> Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

propped asunder the two worlds, thought 'vast. He raised up the lofty and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—This hymn is translated in Müller's Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radāt patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṁsi samudriyā nadīnām | sargo* <sup>100\*</sup> *na śriṣṭho arvatir ritāyan cakāra mahir avanir ahabhyaḥ |* 2. *Ātmā te vāto rajaḥ ā ṇavinot paśur na bhūrṇir yavase sa-savān* <sup>100†</sup> *| antar mahi bṛihatī rodasī ime viśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāni |*

"Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the courses of the rivers leading to the ocean. Like a troop (of horses) let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind, thy breath, has sounded through the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast rushing along a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, O Varuṇa, are beloved." <sup>101</sup>

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśavedaḥ amimīta varimānam prithivyāḥ | āsidad viśvā bhuvanāni samrūd viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni |* 2. *Eva vandasva Varuṇaṁ bṛihantaṁ namasya dhīram amritasya gopām | sa naḥ śarma trivarūṭhaṁ viyāṁsad ityādi |*

"The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has measured <sup>102</sup> the expanse of the earth; he has occupied all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he extend to us triple protection," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (*Sūrya*, *Āditya*, or *Savitṛi*):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Vi dyām ośhi rajas prithvī āhā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya |* "Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring the days with thy rays; beholding created things, O *Sūrya*."

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyato addha deva mahān asi | Baḍ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi satrū deva mahān asi | mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābhyam |*

"Verily, *Sūrya*, thou art great; verily, *Āditya*, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, *Sūrya*, thou art great in renown: O god, thou art

<sup>100\*</sup> The word *sarga* occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.

<sup>100†</sup> In regard to this participle, see the note (82) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.

<sup>101</sup> See note (81) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.

<sup>102</sup> See above, p. 71.

truly great; through thy greatness thou art the "divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary."

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adriṇhat | asvam iva adbhukshad dhunim antariksham atūrte baddhaṁ Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhitō vi-  
amaṇaḥ apām napāt Savitā tasya vedā | ato bhūr ataḥ āḥ utthitāṁ rajo ato  
dyāvā-prithivī aprathetām |*

"Savitṛi has established the earth by supports; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in unsupported space;<sup>103</sup> Savitṛi has milked the atmosphere, which resembles a sounding horse,—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitṛi, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended."

<sup>103</sup> In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent Śeṣha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishnu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall's ed. ii. 212): *Sa bibhrat śekhara-bhūtam aśeṣhaṁ kshiti-maṇḍalam | āste pātāla-mūla-sthaḥ Śeṣho 'śeṣha-sūreṇhitāḥ |* "Śeṣha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth which forms a diadem on his head, and stands beneath the base of Pātāla." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-siromani, iii. 2: *Bhūmeḥ piṇḍaḥ śaśūṅka-jña-kavi-ravi-  
kujjyārki-nakshatra-kakṣhā-vṛttair vṛtaḥ san mṛid-anūla-salīla-vyoma-tejomayo  
'yam | nānyādūrah va-saktyaiva viyati niyataṁ tiṣṭhati ityūdi |* . . . 4. *Mūrto  
dhartā ched dhartṛyaś tad-anyaś tasyāpyanyo 'syaisam atrānavasthā | antye kalpyā  
chet va-saktiḥ kim ādye kim no bhūmir ityūdi |* which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: "2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the ether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas." . . . "4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, i.e. of Śiva?" Arya Bhaṭṭa, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392), are these: *Bha-panjaraḥ ethiro bhūr evāvṛtyāvṛitya prāḍaivasiḥ  
udayāstamayau sampādayati nakshatra-grahūṇām |* "The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets."

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *S'avitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramayat | anāram-bhane 'ntarikṣhe Savitā dyām adṛimhat | asvam iva adhukṣhad dhunim antarikṣhe megham baddham atūrte baddham atūrṇe iti vā 'tvaramāṇe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakṣhyat | Ādityo 'pi Savitā vchyate.* "Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky in the place which has no basis—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the cloud fastened in the atmosphere,—the impassable, or the unhastening—(the cloud) sounding as a horse, and that which rises. What other god than the intermediate one (i.e. the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri."

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: "Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to *dhuni* the sense of "sounding" (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: "According to Yāska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛishṇām asi mānushīnām yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained freedom for the gods" (see R. V. vii. 98, 3, above p. 103).

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na kṣhām dādāra<sup>103</sup> prithivīm tastambha dyām mantrebhīḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true texts," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tiro dyāvas tredhā sasur āpaḥ ityādi |* 6. *Sa retodhāḥ vṛishabhāḥ śasvatīnām tasminn ātmā jagataś tastushaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) "He

<sup>103</sup> Comp. R. V. viii. 42, 10:—*Yasḥ śkambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat |*

in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 8† He is the bull that impregnates all [the cows]: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world" (comp. *sūryaḥ ātmā jagatas tastuṣaḥ cha*, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva :

R. V. x. 139, 5.—. . . *Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ* | "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma :

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (= S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajñanad divas chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat* | "The purified [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Tavemāḥ prajāḥ divyasya retasas tvam viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasi | athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna te vāse tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadhāḥ asi* | 29. *Tvam samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pancho pradīso vidharmanī | tvam dyāṁ cha prithiviṁ chūti jabhrisho tava jyotiṁśhi pavamāna sūryaḥ* | 30. *Tvam pavitre rajaso vidharmanī devebhyaḥ soma pavamāna pūyase | tvām Uśijāḥ prathamāḥ agrībhnata tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* |

"All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purified god, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. 29. Thou, sage, art an all-containing ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast ascended beyond the sky and the earth; thine, O purified god, are the luminaries and the sun. 30. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Viśvambho divo dharaṇaḥ prithivyāḥ viśvāḥ uta kṣhitayo haste asya ityādi* | "He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand."

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 94), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Pavitrebhiḥ pavamāno nrichakṣaḥ rājā devānām uta martyānām ityādi* | "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods and of mortals," etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pavamāna mahi śravaś chitrebhīr yāsi raśmibhīḥ* <sup>104</sup> | *śardhan taṁāṁśi jighnase viśvāni dāśuśho griḥe* | 9. *Tvaṁ dyāṁ cha mahi-  
vrata prithivīm chāti jabhriśhe ityādi* | “Thou, pure [Soma], marchest  
onward to great renown, by thy brilliant rays; daring, thou wilt  
destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever  
of great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth,” etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . *Tvaṁ kavir abhavo deva-vītamah ā sūryaṁ  
rohaya divi* | “Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast  
caused the sun to rise in the sky.”

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—*Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ  
pitā devānām viśvā abhi dhāma* | “Be purified in all abodes, Soma,  
[who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods,” etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishṇu is not  
the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the  
Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and  
with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit  
Literature* (p. 532 f.) shows that all the principal Vedic deities are, in  
their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme :

“When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as  
limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each  
god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is  
felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of  
the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must  
entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from  
the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands  
in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. ‘Among you, O gods,  
there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great  
indeed,’ <sup>105</sup> is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly  
expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry  
of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as  
the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is  
only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the  
divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave

<sup>104</sup> Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1 : *Sanū cha Soma jeehi cha pavamāna mahi śravaś* | and  
ix. 83, 6 : *Jayan śravo bṛihat* |

<sup>105</sup> R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.

of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,<sup>106</sup> the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;<sup>107</sup> nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book<sup>108</sup> is: *Viśvasmād Indra uttarah* | 'Indra is greater than all.' Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.<sup>109</sup> He is called the king of the world,<sup>110</sup> he has the power to prolong the life of men,<sup>111</sup> and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Viṣṇu.<sup>112</sup> If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (*aiṇas*), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,' etc.

### SECT. III.—*Viṣṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Viṣṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>106</sup> "Tvaṁ viśvāni svanīka patyase | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Parīśiṣṭa i.

<sup>107</sup> ii. 1, 9.

<sup>108</sup> x. 86.

<sup>109</sup> ix. 59.

<sup>110</sup> ix. 96, 10: *bhuvanasya rājā*.

<sup>111</sup> ix. 96, 14.

<sup>112</sup> ix. 96, 5.

<sup>113</sup> See Bohlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*; Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Ādityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff.; and the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 54 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Āditya* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject :

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—*Imāḥ girāḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasmūḥ sanādṛājabhyo juhvā juhomi | śrinotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvi jāto Varuṇo Dakṣho Aṁśaḥ* | “With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Dakṣha, Anśa, hear us.” Yāska makes *tuvi jātaḥ* to be=*bahujātaḥ cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātṛi, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāraḥ ritvi jāḥ | devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhīḥ Somābhirakṣa naḥ* | “The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven hotṛi priests, and the seven gods, the Ādityas,—with these, O Soma, protect us.”

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 12 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārtāṇḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Sāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Taittirīye ‘aṣṭau putṛāso Aditer’ ity upakramya spāṣṭam anukrāntāḥ* | “*Mitrascha Varuṇascha Dhātūcha Aryamācha Aṁśuscha Bhagascha Indrascha Vivasvāns cha ete’ iti* | “They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittirīya, beginning with the words, ‘The eight sons of Aditi,’ as ‘these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.’”

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 14, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number, in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas.

Viṣṇu, as is remarked by Messrs. Böhlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, is mentioned along with the Ādityas [of the R. V., and other gods with whom they were afterwards associated] in A. V. xi. 6, 2: *Brūmo rājānam Varuṇam Mitram Viṣṇum atho Bhagam | Aṁśam Vivasvantam brūmas te no munchantu aṁśasah* | 3 | *Brūmo devāṁ Savitāram Dhātāram uta Pūṣaṇam | Tvāṣṭāram agriyam brūmah* | “We invoke King Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity. 3. We invoke the God Savitṛi, Dhātṛi, Pūṣan, and Tvāṣṭṛi the chief,” etc.



The following are two passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in which mention is made of the Ādityas as being twelve in number.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasā eva vācam mithunāṁ samabhavat sa dvādaśa drapsān garbhya abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityāḥ asṛjyanta tān dikṣu upādadhāt |* “With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Then he placed in the quarters of the horizon.”

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityāḥ iti | dvādaśa māsaḥ saṁvatsarasya ste Ādityāḥ—ste hi idam sarvam ādadunāḥ yanti | te yad idam sarvam ādadunāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāḥ iti |* “How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go on taking (ādadunāḥ) all this. Since they go on taking all this, they are called Ādityas.”

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 21, 1, tells a story of the Ādityas: *Ādityās cha Angirasaś cha suvargo loka 'spardhanta | te 'ngirasaḥ Ādityebhyo 'mum Ādityaṁ asvaṁ śvetam bhūtaṁ dakṣiṇām anayan | te 'bruvan “yaṁ no 'neṣṭa sa varjo 'bhūd” iti | tasmād asvaṁ savarya ity akhwayanti | tasmād yajno varo diyate | yat Prajāpatiḥ ālabdho 'svo 'bhavat tasmād asvo nāma | yat śvayad-arur āsit tasmād arvā nāma | yat sadyo vājān samajayat tasmād vāji nāma | yad asurāṇāṁ lokān ādatā tasmād Ādityo nāma |* “The Ādityas and the Angirases strove in heaven. The Angirases brought that Āditya, who had become a white horse, to the Ādityas as a present. The latter said, ‘He whom you have brought to us has become excellent (varya).’ Hence men call to a horse, o savarya. Hence a boon (vara) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (asva, which means “pervading,” according to the commentator), he has the name of asva. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders śvayad-arur, stating that Prajāpati suffered from a swollen eye), he is called arvan. Inasmuch as he conquered riches [or, in races] (vāja), he got the name vājin. Inasmuch as he took (ādatā) from the Asuras their worlds, he is called Āditya.”

The Taitt. Āraṇyaka, i. 14, 1, also derives Āditya from the root ā+dā: *Yo 'sau tapann udoti sa sarveśam bhūtānām prāṇān ādāya udoti | mā me prajāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṇān ādāya udagāḥ |* *sau yo*

*'stam eti sa sarveshānāḥ bhūtānām prāṇān ādāya astam eti | mā me prajā-  
gāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṇān ādāya astam gāḥ |* "That [Sun]  
which rises glowing, rises taking the breath of all creatures. Do not  
rise [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of  
myself. That [Sun] which sets, sets taking the breath of all creatures.  
Do not set [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle,  
or of myself."

The Nirukta, ii. 18, gives various etymologies of the word Āditya:  
*Ādityaḥ | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotiṣaṁ | ādīpto  
bhāsa iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayerogaṁ tu aśya etad ārchā-  
bhyaṁnāye | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam āditeyam" Aditeḥ putram | evam  
anyāsaṁ api devatānām Ādityaprawādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā  
etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryamaṇo Dakṣaśya Bhagaśya Aṁśasya iti |*

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids."<sup>114</sup> He  
takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (*ādīptaḥ*) by  
light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom  
applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Sūrya Āditeya*, Sūrya the  
son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.<sup>115</sup> In the same way there are  
praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case  
of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Dakṣa, Bhaga, Aṁśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the  
Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated  
or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only  
eleven are specified. Viṣṇu is almost always named as one of them,

<sup>114</sup> *Sahasra-guṇam uterashṭum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ |* "For the sun takes up the  
fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvansa,  
i. 18. In the hymn to the Sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is similarly said, v. 179:  
*Tvam ādāyāṁśubhis tejo nidāghe sarva-dehinām | sarvasushādhi-rasānām cha punar  
varshāsu munchasi |* "Having in the hot season taken up by the rays the substance  
of all embodied beings, and the essence of all plants, thou again dischargest them in  
the rainy season." And Manu says: *Aśṭau māsaṁ yathā "dityas toyam harati  
rasamibhiḥ | tathā haret karaṁ rūkṣiṣṭād nityam arkavratam hi tat |* "As Āditya (the  
sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract  
revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

<sup>115</sup> Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk*  
"has not a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse,  
R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21),  
says: *sūkta-bhāg eva oṣaitā abhidhānaṁ na havirbhāk |* "This appellation has a  
hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this  
name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Maricheḥ Kāśyapaḥ putraḥ Kāśyapāt tu imāḥ pṛajāḥ | prajānīre mahābhāgāḥ Dakṣa-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . . 2,522. Ādityāṁ dvādaśāḍītyāḥ sambhūtaḥ bhuvaneśvarāḥ | ye rūjan nāmatas tāṁs te kīrtayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro'ryamā Sakro Varuṇas tv Aṁśaḥ eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūṣha cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvashṭā dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveṣūṁ Ādityānāṁ guṇādṛhiḥ |*

"Kāśyapa was the son of Marichi; and from Kāśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Dakṣa . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Ādityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi; <sup>116</sup> Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Sakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshan, and Savitṛi the tenth; the eleventh is Tvashṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Viṣṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Maricheḥ Kāśyapaḥ putraḥ Kāśyapasya Surāsuraḥ | jayīre nṛipa-sārdūla lokānūṁ prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . . 2,600. Dvādaśaivāditeḥ putraḥ Sakra-mukhyāḥ narādhipa | teṣāṁ avarejo Viṣṇur yatra lokāḥ pratishṭhitaḥ |*

"From Kāśyapa, who was the son of Marichi, were produced, O king, the deities (Suras) and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all beings sprang. . . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Sakra. The youngest of them was Viṣṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Aṁśo Bhagāscha Mitrāscha Varuṇāscha jalēśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvashṭā Pūṣha tathaivendro dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśāḍītyāḥ Kāśyapayāḥ iti śrutiḥ |*

"Anśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Viṣṇu, who is called

<sup>116</sup> In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, dividing himself twelvefold, became the twelve Ādityas (*krītvā dvādaśādṛhā 'imānāṁ dvādaśāḍītyasūṁ gataḥ*).

the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, *śruti*)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Akṣhayaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ | tathaiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇau ṛishiḥ | Ādityānām hi sarveśhām Viṣṇur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | apyayaś chāvyayaś chaiva śāsvataḥ prabhur īśvaraḥ | nimitta-maraṇās chānyo chandra-sūrya-mahijalam | Vāyur Agnis tathā "kāśām" grahās tāra-gaṇās tathā | te kṣhayānto jagato hitvā lokā-trayaṁ sādū | kṣhayāṁ gachchanti vai sarve śṛijyānto cha punaḥ punaḥ | muhūrta-maraṇās tv anyo mānuṣhāḥ mrigapakṣhiṇaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Ṛishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Viṣṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—<sup>117</sup> the moon, the sun, the earth, water,<sup>118</sup> air, fire, the ether, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*muhūrta*)."

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (vol. ii. pp. 26 f. of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's translation)—*Pūrvamanvantare śreṣṭhāḥ dvādaśāsan surottamāḥ | Tushitāḥ nūma tv 'nyonyam ūchur Vairavato 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyaśasāś Chākṣuṣhāsyāntare Manoh | samavāyikṛitūḥ sarve samāgamya paraspāram | Āgachhata drutaṁ devāḥ Āditiṁ sampravṛitya vai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved iti | evam uktvā tu tv sarve Chākṣuṣhāsyāntare Manoh | Mārīchāt Kaśyapāj jātās tv 'dityā Dakṣha-kanyayā | tatra Viṣṇuścha Sakraścha jajñāte punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātācha Tvāṣṭā Pūṣhā tathaiva cha | Vivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṇaḥ eva cha | Amśo Bhagat chātitejāḥ Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chākṣuṣhāsyāntare pūrvam āsan yo Tushitāḥ smṛitāḥ | Vairavato 'ntare tv vai Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |*

"In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and re-

<sup>117</sup> I suppose *nimitta-maraṇās* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed. i. 113; v. 186, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralaya-dinimittam maraṇam nāśo yeshām tv nimitta-maraṇāḥ* |

<sup>118</sup> Water and ether are said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 33. See also the order of creation described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and in Manu, in section ii., chapter i., above.

nowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chākshusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chākshusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marichi, and Aditi, daughter of Daksha. In this way Vishṇu and Sakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātṛi, Tvasṭṛi, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chākshusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara."

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivansa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivansa, verses 11,548 ff.:  
*Adityām jajñire rājann Ādityūḥ Kaśyapād aha | Indro Viṣṇur Bhagas  
 Tvashṭā Varuṇo 'ṁśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūṣhā Mitrascha varado Manuḥ  
 Parjanyaḥ eva cha | ity eto dvādaśādityūḥ varishṭhās tridivaukasah |*  
 "From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Tvasṭṛi, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Ravi (the Sun), Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuṇo  
 Mitraḥ Pūṣhā Dhātā Purandarah | Tvashṭā Bhago 'ṁśah Savitā Par-  
 janyascheti visrutāḥ | Adityām jajñire devūḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhūvanāḥ |*  
 "The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātṛi, Purandara (Indra), Tvasṭṛi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only eleven names occur in this list: that of Viṣṇu is omitted.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārtanḍa, the Sun.

Harivansa, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāsitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasa saṁhātana vai |  
 kāntāt kāntataraṁ drashṭum adhikaṁ śuśubhe tadā | mukhe nirvartitaṁ  
 rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukhaṁ asti tu  
 lohitaṁ | mukha-rūgantū yat pūrvam Mārtanḍasya mukha-chyutam |  
 Ādityūḥ dvādaśaivaḥ sambhūtāḥ mukha-sambhavaḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha*

*Mitrāścha Varuṇo 'mśo Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūṣhā cha Parjanya daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishṇur ajaghanyo jaghanyajagh | harehaṁ lobhe tato devo dṛishṭvā "dityān sva-deha-jān |* "Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold: This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārtaṇḍa were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭri, then Vishṇu not the least, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Ādityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. Vivasvat is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from Vivasvat; and Tvashṭri was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the Harivanśa.) The Vishṇu Purāṇa tells the same story about Vivasvat, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, Dr. Hall's ed., iii. 20 f.)

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vi. 6, 24 f.—*S'ṛiṇu nāmāni lokānām mātṛiṇām śaṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnām yat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | Aditir Ditiṛ ityādi | . . . 36 f. Athātah śrūyatām caṁśo yo 'dītor anupṛvśah | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenāvātarad vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūṣhā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Mitraḥ Sakrah Urukramah |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa, descended in a part of himself,—Vivasvat, Aryaman, Pūshan, Tvashṭri, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Dhātṛi, Vidhātṛi, Varuṇa, Mitra, Sakra, Urukrama (the wide-strider=Vishṇu)."

SECT. IV.—*Stories regarding Vishṇu from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.*

The following story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishṇu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of

sacrifice, conquered the whole earth), with others of the same tenor, contains the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāscha vai Asurāscha ubhaye prajāpatyāḥ paśpṛdhiṛe | tato devāḥ anuvyam iva asuḥ | atha ha Asurāḥ monire 'asmākam eva idaṁ khalu bhuvanam' iti | 2. Te ha ūchur 'hanta imām pṛthivīm vibhajāmahai tām vibhajya upajīvāma' iti | tām aukṣhṇais cārmabhiḥ paśchāt prāñśo vibhajamānāḥ abhīyuh | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śusruvur "vibhajante ha vṛṣi imām Asurāḥ pṛthivīm preta tad eśhyāmo yatra imām Asurāḥ vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi"* iti | *te yajnam eva Viśhnum puraskṛitya iyuh | 4. Te ha ūchuḥ "anu no 'syām pṛthivyām ābhajata astv eva no 'py asyām bhāgaḥ"* iti | *te 'surāḥ asūyantaḥ iva ūchur 'yāvad eva eṣha Viśhṇur abhiṣete tāvad vo dad-maḥ'* iti | *5. Vāmano ha Viśhṇur āsa | tad devāḥ na jīhīdure "mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajna-sammitam adur"* iti | *6. Te prāñśam Viśhnum nīpādya cchāndobhir abhitaḥ paryagrighṇan "gāyatrena tvā cchāndasā parigrīhṇāmi"* iti dakṣiṇatas | *"traishṭubhena tvā cchāndasā parigrīh-nāmi"* iti pāśchāt | *"jāgatena tvā cchāndasā parigrīhṇāmi"* iti uttarataḥ | *7. Tām cchāndobhir abhitaḥ parigrīhya agnim purastāt samādhyā tena archantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ cheruḥ | tena imām sarvām pṛthivīm samavindanta | tad yad enena imām sarvām samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvati vedis tāvati pṛthivi'* iti | *etayā hi imām sarvām samavin-danta | evam ha vai imām sarvām sapatnānām saṁvṛṇkte nīrbhajaty asyai sapatnān yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So 'yam Viśhṇur glānās cchān-dobhir itaḥ parigrīhito 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam āsa | sa tataḥ eva ośadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ "kva nu Viśhṇur abhūt kva nu yajno 'bhūd"* iti | *te ha ūchuḥ "cchāndobhir itaḥ parigrīhito 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam astyatra eva anvīkṣhata"* iti *tām kṣanantaḥ iva anvīkṣus tām tryangulā 'nvavindaṁs tasmāt tryangulā vedīḥ syāt | tad u ha api Pāñchīs tryangulām eva saumyasya adhvaryasya vedīm cakre | 10. Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |*

"The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, 'This world is now certainly ours.' 2. Then they spake, 'Come, let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.' They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, 'The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are

dividing it. Who shall we become (i.e. what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said, 'Put us with yourselves in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishṇu can lie upon.'<sup>119</sup> 5. Now, Vishṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' 6. Then having placed Vishṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Trishṭubh metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagatī metre.' 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this means they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this means they acquired (*samavindanta*) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called *vedi* (from the root *vid*, 'to acquire'). Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, appropriates all this [earth] from rivals, dispossesses from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vishṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, Pāṇchi<sup>120</sup> made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next story from the same work relates how Vishṇu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

<sup>119</sup> Compare with this story the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 84 f.) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 6, 15.

<sup>120</sup> *Pāṇchiḥ soma-yāgyasyapi vedīm tryangula-khātām eva mene* | "Pāṇchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." (Commentary.) Pāṇchi is again mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mādhuḥi, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhṛtayaḥ trayo munayaḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.



Setapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Devāḥ ha vai satraṁ nishodur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Viṣṇur viśve-devāḥ anyatra eva āśvīdhyaṁ* | 2. *Tevāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ devayajanam āsa | tasmād āhuḥ “Kurukṣetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam” iti | tasmād yatra kva oha Kurukṣetraṁ nigachhati tad eva manyate “idaṁ devayajanam” iti tad hi devānāṁ devayajanam* | 3. *Te āsata | “śriyaṁ gacchema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma” iti tattho eva ime sītram āsate “śriyaṁ gacchema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma” iti* | 4. *Te ha ūchur “yo naḥ śramaṇa tapasā śraddhaya yajnena āhutibhir yajnasya udriccham pūrvo ’vagachhāt sa naḥ śreṣṭho ’sat tad u naḥ sarveśhāṁ sala” iti “tathā” iti* | 5. *Tad Viṣṇuḥ prathamāḥ prāpa | sa devānāṁ śreṣṭho ’bhavat tasmād āhur “Viṣṇur devānāṁ śreṣṭhaḥ” iti* | 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Viṣṇur yajnaḥ sa | sa yaḥ sa yajno ’sau sa Ādityaḥ | tad ha idaṁ yaśo Viṣṇur na śaśāka sañyantum | tad idam apy etarhi na eva sarvaḥ iva yaśaḥ śaknoti sañyantum* | 7. *Sa tīrī-dhanvam<sup>121</sup> ādāya apachakrāma | sa dhanur-ārṇya śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau | taṁ devāḥ anabhidhriṣṇuvantaḥ samantam parinyaviśanta |* 8. *Tāḥ ha vamryaḥ ūchuḥ | imāḥ vai vamryo yad upadikāḥ | “yo ’ya jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta” iti “annādyam asmai prayachhema api dhanvann apo ’dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema” iti* | 9. *Tasya upaparāṣṭitya jyām apijakṣus tasyāṁ chhinnūyāṁ dhanur-ārṇyau viśphurantyaḥ Viṣṇoḥ śiraḥ praohichhidatuḥ* | 10. *Tad ghrinḥ iti papāta | tat patitvā ’sāv Ādityo ’bhavat | atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva prāvṛjyata | tad yad ghrinḥ ity apatat tasmād gharmaḥ | atha yat prāvṛjyata tasmād pravargyaḥ* | 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan | “mahān vata no viro ’pādi” iti tasmād mahāvīraḥ | tasya yo raso vyaksharat tam pānibhiḥ sammamṛjyus tasmāt samrāt* | 12. *Taṁ devāḥ abhyasṛjyanta<sup>122</sup> yathā vittin vetsya-mānāḥ evam | tam Indraḥ prathamāḥ prāpa | tam anvaṅgam anunyapadyata | tam paryagrihṇāt tam parigrihya idaṁ yaśo ’bhavad yad idam Indro yaśaḥ | yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda* | 13. *Sa u eva makhaḥ sa Viṣṇuḥ | tataḥ Indro makhavān abhavat | makhavān ha vai tam Maghavān ity āchakṣate parokṣham parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ* | 14.

<sup>121</sup> This word occurs also in S’atap. Br. xi. 1, 6, 10; in Taitt. S. i. 8, 19, 1, and Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 2, in all which places it is explained by the Comm. *tīrībhir isubhīr yuktāṁ* (or *sahitāṁ*) *dhanva* (or *dhanuḥ*).

<sup>122</sup> This, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of *abhimṛjyanta*, given in Weber’s edition. See a parallel passage, S’atap. Br. iv. 1, 3, 5.

*Tabhyo vamribhyo 'nnādyam prāyachhān | āpo vai sarvām annam tabhir  
hi idam abhiknūyam iva adanti | yad idam kimvadanti | 15. Atha  
imam Vishṇum yajnam tredhā vyabhajanta | . . . tena apasirshad  
yajnena devā archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cōruḥ |* .

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishṇu, Makha, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kurukshetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kurukshetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kurukshetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through toil, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us: this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishṇu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, 'Vishṇu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishṇu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishṇu could not control [his love of] this fame.<sup>123</sup> And the same is the case now, that every one cannot control [his love of] fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadikās*—another name for ants), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was cut, the ends of the bow, starting asunder, cut off the head of Vishṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghrīṇ*). That having fallen, became that Āditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghrīṇ*, hence *gharma*, ['the

<sup>123</sup> It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśaḥ*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaḥ sa Vishṇuḥ*, etc., *sa yaḥ sa yajnaḥ*, etc. "He who [is] this Vishṇu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.

sacrificial kettle, received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prāerijyāta*), the *pravargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān vīraḥ*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahāvīra* (a sacrificial vessel).<sup>124</sup> They wiped (*sammamrijuḥ*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samvāt*. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishnu), as men about to obtain property do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishnu was indeed Makha.<sup>125</sup> Hence Indra became Makhavat (the possessor or associate of Makha). He is Makhavat: they call him Maghavat esoterically; for the gods love what is esoterio. 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishnu, the sacrifice. . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Āranyaka,<sup>126</sup> and the second from the Pancha-

<sup>124</sup> A long account is given of the *gharma*, *pravargya*, and *mahāvīra* in Katyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, xxvi.

<sup>125</sup> In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. 2 c: "This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, R. V. x. 171, 2: *tvam Makhasya dādhatāḥ śiro ava tvacho dharaḥ* | ('Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha'); ix. 101, 13, *apa śvānam arādhastām hata Makhām va Bhṛigavaḥ* | ('Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhṛigus did Makha'). Herewith is to be connected the mention made of Makha's head in sacrificial formulæ, Vāj. Sanhitā, 37, 3: *devī dyāvā-prithivī Makhasya vām adya śiro rādhyāsām devayajane prithivyāḥ* | . . . 4. *Devyo vamyro bhūtasya prathamajāḥ makhasya vo 'dya śiro rādhyāsām devayajane prithivyāḥ* | ('O divine heaven and earth, may I rightly prepare for you to-day the head of Makha, on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed. . . 4. O divine ants, firstborn of created things, may I rightly prepare for you the head of Makha on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed'); ibid. 11, 67; Taitt. S. i. 1, 8, 1; iii. 2, 4, 1, *namo 'gnaye Makhaghno* | *Makhasya mā yaso 'ryād ity āhavanīyam upatishṭhate* | *yajno vai makhaḥ* ('Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the āhavanīya-fire. Makha is sacrifice'), etc.

<sup>126</sup> This part of the Taitt. Ār. has now been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 690 ff. The commentary on it will be found in pp. 371 ff.

viñśa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same story which has just been given from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, v. i. 1-7.—1. *Devāḥ vai satram ācata riddhi-parimitam yasaskāmāḥ | te 'bruvan "yan naḥ prathamam yasaḥ riddhāt sarveśam naḥ tat saha asat" iti | teshāṁ kurukṣetram vedir āsit | tasyai Khāṇḍavo dakṣiṇārdhaḥ āsit Tūrgṇīyam uttarārdhaḥ Parinaj jaghanārdho Maravaḥ utkaraḥ |* 2. *Teshāṁ Makkāḥ Vaiśṇavam yasaḥ ārchhat | tad nyakāmayaṭa | tena apākrumat | tam devāḥ anvayan yaso 'varuruteamānāḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata dakṣiṇād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishādhanvam puṇya-janma yajna-janma hi |* 3. *Tam ekam santam bahavo na abhyadhṛishṇuvan | tasmād ekam ishādhanvam<sup>127</sup> vtram bahavo 'niśādhanvāḥ na abhidhṛishṇuvanti | so 'sṃyayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhyadharaḥishur" iti | tasya sisṁṁyānasya tejo 'pākrumat | tad devāḥ ośadhishu nyamṛijuh | te śyāmākāḥ abhavan | smayākāḥ vai nāma ete |* 4. *Tat smayākānām smayākatvam | tasmād ākeṣitena apigrihya smetavyam tejaso dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tāḥ upadikāḥ abruvan | "varam vṛiṇamahai | atha vaḥ imam randhayāma | yatra kva cha khaṇāma tad apo 'bhitrinādāma" iti | tasmād upadikāḥ yatra kva cha khaṇanti tad apo 'bhitrindanti |* 5. *Vārovritam hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravamānam śiraḥ udavartayat | tad dyāvopṛithivī anuprāvartata | yat prāvartata tat pravargyasya pravargyatvam | yad ghrāṁ ity apatat tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahato vīryam apatat iti tad mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam |* 6. *Yad asyāḥ samabharaṁ tat samrājāḥ samrāṭṭvam | tam stritam devatās tredhā vyagriṇṇata | Agniḥ prātaḥsavanam Indro mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ Viśvedevās trītiya-savanam | tena apaśirshṇā yajnena yajamānāḥ na āśiḥo 'vārundhata na svargaṁ lokam abhyajayan | te devāḥ āśvināv abruvan |* 7. *"Bhisajau vai etah | idam yajnasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtām "varam vṛiṇāvahai grahaḥ eva nāv atrāpi grihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agriṇṇat | tāv etad yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattām yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśirshṇā yajnena yajamānāḥ ava āśiḥo 'rundhata | abhi svargaṁ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam praviṇakti yajnasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhāti | tena saśirshṇā yajnena yajamāno 'va āśiḥo rundho 'bhi svargaṁ lokam jayati | tasmād eṣa āśvina-pravayāḥ iva yat pravargyaḥ |*

<sup>127</sup> The Bibl. Ind. reads *ishādhanvinam*.

“The gods, desirous of glory, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said, ‘Whatever glory first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.’ Kurukshetra was their altar. Khāṇḍava was its southern, Tūrghna its northern, and Parīṇah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishṇava among their number. This glory he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] glory. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, ‘Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.’ Strength departed from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They became śyāmāka grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with [his mouth] shut, that he may retain his strength. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], ‘Let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subject him to you. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.’ Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose. They knawed his (Vishṇu’s) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prāvartata*), the pravargya derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrāṇ*, gharma obtained its name. Strength (*virya*) fell from the mighty one (*mahatāḥ*): hence the mahāvira got its name. 6. As they gathered it (*samabharan*) from this [earth], a samrāt obtains his appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Āsvins, ‘Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.’ They said, ‘Let us ask a boon, let our graha (libation of Soma) be offered here also.’ [The gods accordingly] recognized this Āsvina [libation] for them. [The Āsvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is

the pravargya. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven.<sup>128</sup> When one offers the pravargya, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Aśvins."

Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6. *Devaḥ vai yāśaskāmāḥ satram āeta Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhaś te 'brūvan 'yan no yāśaḥ ricchāt tan naḥ saha asad' iti | teshāṃ Makhaṃ yāśaḥ ārechhat | tad ādāya apā-brāmat | tad asya pra saha āditsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭabhya atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārtinir ūrdhvā patitvā tiro 'chhinat sa pravargyo 'bhavat | yajno vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam pravṛjanti yajnasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhati |*

"Desirous of glory, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha, were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'Whatever glory comes to us, that shall be common to us.' Glory came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They surrounded him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the pravargya. Makha is sacrifice. When men offer the pravargya, they replace the head of Makha."

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Viṣṇu, 1, 1: *Agnir vai devānām avamo | Viṣṇuḥ paramas | tadantareṇa sarvāḥ anyāḥ devatāḥ*. "Agni is the lowest, Viṣṇu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Viṣṇu." Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: *Viṣṇur vai devānām dvārāpaḥ | sa eva asmai etad dvārāṃ vivṛinoti*. "Viṣṇu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door." The Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: *Viṣṇur vai akāmayata punyam ślokaṃ śṛiṇvīya na mā pāpī kirtir āgachhet*. "Viṣṇu desired, 'May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.'" The Taitt. S. iii. 4, 5, 1, says: *Rudraḥ paśūnām Tvashṭā rūpāṇām Viṣṇuḥ parvatā-*

<sup>128</sup> Compare the close of the story about the Aśvins quoted from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 260 ff.

*nām Maruto gaṇānām adhipatayaḥ*. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, Tvashṭri of forms, Viṣṇu of mountains, the Maruts of hosts."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the Dwarf incarnation in its later form :

"Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Viṣṇur deva-namaskṛitah | tapas-śaraṇa-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapaḥ* | 3. *Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāṃśnasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśramaḥ iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahātapaḥ* | 4. *Abhībhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Baliḥ | trailokya-rājyam bubhuje balotseka-madānvitah* | 5. *Tato Balau tadā yajnaṃ yajamāne bhayārditāḥ | Indrādayaḥ suragaṇāḥ Viṣṇum ūchur ihāśrame* | 6. "*Balir Vairochanir Viṣṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām maharddhir asurādhipaḥ* | 7. *Ye chainam abhivartante yāchitāraḥ itastataḥ | yaccha yatra yathāvachcha sarvaṃ tebhyaḥ prayachehhati* | 8. *Sa tvam sura-hitārthāya mūyā-yogam upāśritah | vāmanatvaṃ gato Viṣṇo kuru kalyāṇam uttamam*" | 9.<sup>120</sup> [*Etasminn antare Rāma Kāsyapo 'gni-sama-prabhah | Adityā sahito Rāma dīpyamānaḥ ivaujasā* | 10. *Devī-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vrataṃ samāpya vara-dāṃ tushṭāva Mādhūsūdanam* | 11. "*Tapomayaṃ tapo-rāsiṃ tapo-mūrtiṃ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāṃ sutaptaṇa paśyāmi puruṣottamam* | 12. *Sarīre tava paśyāmi jagat sarvaṃ idam prabho | tvam anūdir anirdeśyas tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ*" | 13. *Tam uvācha Hariḥ prītaḥ Kāsyapaṃ dhūta-kalmasham | varaṃ varaya bhadrāṃ te varūrho 'si mato mama* | 14. *Tach chhṛutvā vachanaṃ tasya Mārīchaḥ Kāsyapo 'bravīt | "putratvaṃ gacchhva bhagavann Adityāḥ mama chūnagha* | 15. *Bhrātū bhava yavītyāṃs tvāṃ Sakrasyāsura-sādana | śokārtānāṃ tu devānāṃ sākhyāṃ kartum arhasi*" | 16. *Atha Viṣṇur mahātejaḥ Adityāṃ samajāyata | chhatrī bhikṣhuka-rūpeṇa kamaṇḍalu-bhikhojjvalaḥ* | ] 17. *Evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇur vāmanaṃ rūpam āśritaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamyā trīṇ yayācātmanaḥ kramān* |

<sup>120</sup> The following verses 9–16 seem to be rightly inclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as interpolated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. It will be seen, however, that in verse 19 of the text of the Bombay edition, as quoted further on, the words at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's edition : *Evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇuḥ* ("Viṣṇu being thus addressed by the deities"), are omitted, and the appearance of interpolation is avoided. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kāsyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 118 ff.

18. *Labdhvā cha trin kramān Viṣṇuḥ kṛtvā rūpam athādbhutam |*  
*trībhīḥ kramais tadā lokān ājākāra tri-vikramah |* 19. *Ekona hi padā*  
*kṛtsnām pṛithivīm so 'dhyatishṭhata | dvitīyenāvayayam vyoma dyāḥ*  
*trītiyena Rūghava |* 20. *Tam chāsuraṁ Balim kṛtvā pātāla-talo-*  
*vasinam | trailokya-rājyam Indrāya dadāv uddhṛitya kaṇṭakam |*

The readings of this passage, as given in the Bombay edition<sup>130</sup> i. 29, 2 ff., differ occasionally from those of Schlegel's. I subjoin them here: 2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Viṣṇur deva-namaskṛitah | varshāni*  
*subahūniha tathā yuga-satāni cha |* 3 | *tapas-charana-yogārtham uvāsa*  
*sumahātapaḥ |* [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference  
of *hy atra* for *atra*,—with verse 3 of Schlegel's edition] 4b | *etasminn*  
*eva kāle tu rājā Vairochanir Balih |* 5 | *nirjitya daivata-gaṇān sendrān*  
*saha-marud-gaṇan | kūrāyāmāsa tad-rājyaṁ triśhu lokeshu viśrutaḥ |* 6 |  
*yajnaṁ śhakāra*<sup>131</sup> *sumahān asurendro mahābalaḥ | Bales tu yajamānasya*  
*devāḥ sāgni-purogamāḥ | samāgamyā trayam chaiva Viṣṇum āchur*  
*ihāśrame |* 7 | “*Balir Vairochanir Viṣṇo yajate yajnam uttamam |*

<sup>130</sup> See Prof. Weber's account of this edition in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1863, vol. 17, pp. 771 ff.

<sup>131</sup> In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bali could sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them: *Nanu 'asurasya Baler deva-dvisho yūgādyanupapattir yūga-tarpaṇīya-devatābhāvād*  
*Indrādīnām tad-deshyatvāt | nacha śabda-mūtram devatā iti yuktam artha-vāda-*  
*pramāṇyena devatāyāḥ vighrahavattvāya uttara-mīmāṃsāyām siddhāntitvad*” *iti*  
*chet | na | karma-deva-ājāna-deva bhedenā devānām āvaividhyāt | tatra ye karmaṇā*  
*devatvam prāptās te karma-devāḥ | ājāna-devās tu yajna-mantrārtha-bhūtāḥ mantreṇa*  
*nitya-sambaddāḥ karma-devobhyaḥ prāchīnāḥ eva | tat-karma-devānām dveshyatve 'py*  
*ājāna-devānām yajne tarpyatve na doṣaḥ | vighna-kartāro 'py atra karma-devāḥ eva |*  
*yajñādyadhikārābhāvo 'py ājāna-devānām eva eva-yashṭavya-devatāntarābhāvāt |*  
*karma-devānām tv asty eva | atah eva Indrādīnām yajñādi-sravaṇam na anupannam |*

“But is there not an absurdity in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by Bali, the enemy of the gods, from there being no deities who could be gratified by it, since Indra and the rest of them were the objects of his hostility? And it is not correct to say that a god is a mere name, for in the Uttara Mīmāṃsā the corporeality of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadas (illustrative passages of the Vedas). [See the passage of Śaṅkara's Commentary on the Brahma or Vedānta Sūtras, i. 3, 28, quoted in the third vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff., especially p. 102 at the foot.] If this objection be urged, then I reply, that the case is not so; for the gods are of two kinds, work-gods, and those who are gods from their birth. (See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 17, f. note 26, and the S'atap. Br. xiv. 7, 1, 34 f.) Of these two kinds, the gods who have become such by works of merit are ‘work-gods.’ But it is those who are gods from their birth that are the objects of the sacrificial formulas, and eternally connected with those formulas; and they are more ancient than the ‘work-gods.’ Even if the ‘work-gods’ be objects of hostility, no exception can be taken to the supposition that the gods by birth may be gratified by sacrifice. And in



*asamāpta-vrate tasmin svakāryam abhipadyatām* | [verses 8–15a correspond with verses 7–14a of Schlegel's ed., substituting however *tapāt-makam* for *tapo-dhanam*, and *purushopamam* for *purushottamam*] 15b | *Adityāḥ devatānām cha mama chaivānuyāchitam* | 16 | *varam varada uprito dātum arhasi svrata* | [verses 16b and 17 agree with 14b and 15 of Schlegel's edition] 18. *Ayam Siddhāśramo nāma prasādāt to bhaviṣhyati* | *siddhe karmaṇi devoṣa uttiṣṭha bhagavann itaḥ* | 19. *Atha Viṣṇur mahātejāḥ Adityāṁ samajāyata* | *Vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vairochanam upāgamat* | 20 | *trīṇ padān atha bhikṣhitvā pratigrihya cha medinīm* | *ākramya lokān lokārthi sarva-loka-hite rataḥ* | 21 | *Mahendrāya punaḥ prādād niyāmya Balim ojasā* | *trailokyam sa mahātejās chakre Śakra-vaśam punaḥ* |

I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio's edition :

Rāmāyana (Gorresio's ed.), i. 32, 2 ff.—*Eka pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanah | siddhāśramah iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahā-yasāḥ* | 3. *Viṣṇur vāmana-rūpena tapyamāno mahat tapaḥ | trailokya-rājye 'pahṛite Balinendrasya Rūghava* | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition] 7. *Taṁ tvaṁ vāmana-rūpena gatvā bhikṣhitum arhasi | vikramāṁs trīṇ mahābāho dātā hi niyataṁ sa te* | 8. *Bhikṣhito vikramān etāṁs trīṇ vīrya-bala-darpiṭaḥ | paribhāya jagan-nāthaṁ tubhyaṁ vāmana-rūpine* | 9. *Ye hy enam abhiyāchanto hṛsa-mānāḥ svam ipsitam | tān kāmair ipsitaiḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvaraḥ* | 10. *Sa tvaṁ trailokya-rājyaṁ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate | dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūriḥtris triḥtriḥ* | 11. *Ayam siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhaviṣhyati | tasmin karmaṇi saṁsiddhe tava satya-parākrama* | [Gorresio's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9–16 of his edition.] 12. *Evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitāḥ | Vairochanam upāgamya trīṇ ayāchata vikramān* | [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel's recension.]

the case before us it is the 'work-gods' who are the disturbers of the sacrifice. Further, it is the gods by birth who are incapable of performing sacrifice, because there are no other deities to whom they could offer it. [See the first vol. of this work, p. 365, note 163] Whereas the 'work-gods' can perform sacrifice. Wherefore the tradition that Indra and the rest performed sacrifice is not absurd." It is strange for readers of the Vedic hymns to be told that Indra is not an object of worship by sacrifice.

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition :

Viśvāmitra speaks : " 2. In this place, O large-armed Rāma, Viṣṇu, the great ascetic, revered by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of practising austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rāma, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Viṣṇu in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, O Viṣṇu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever supplicants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them in a proper manner all whatever, of any sort of thing, [they wish]. 8. Do thou, O Viṣṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, O Rāma, the divine Kaśyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, (10) having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana : 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee, the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, who art rich in austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away : 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied : 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and 'myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Viṣṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on the crown of his head.] 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Viṣṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana,

begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, O Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy."

I subjoin a translation of those parts of the Bombay text which are different from Schlegel's :

2. "In this place, O great-armed Rāma, Vishṇu, the great ascetic, revered by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas, (3) for the purpose of practising austerity and contemplation. [Verses 3b and 4a are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.] 4b. But at this very period the renowned King Bali, son of Virochana, (5) having conquered the hosts of the deities, including Indra and the Maruts, ruled in their stead over the three worlds. 6. This very great and potent lord of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. While he was doing so, the gods, headed by Agni, assembled, and addressed Vishṇu in this hermitage. 7. 'Bali, the son of Virochana, O Vishṇu, is celebrating a grand sacrifice. Let his rite remain incomplete; and let our object be attained. [Verses 8-15a correspond very nearly with 7-14a of the other edition.] 15b-16b. O boon-bestowing, holy, deity, be well pleased, and bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit. [Verses 16b and 17 agree with 14b and 15 of the other ed.] 18a. This by thy favour shall be called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was accomplished). The work being accomplished, depart hence, O king of the gods.' 19. Then the glorious Vishṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana. 20. Then having begged for three paces of ground, and having occupied the earth, he, desiring the worlds, devoted to the good of all creatures, having stalked over the worlds, (21) restored them to Mahendra (great Indra), having overcome Bali by his might. This glorious being made the three worlds again subject to Śakra (Indra)." (See note <sup>139</sup> above.)

I add a translation of those parts of Gorresio's text which differ from Schlegel's :

"2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf,

called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,'<sup>131</sup> where the illustrious Viṣṇu was perfected, (8) when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4-6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition.] 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, O large-armed. 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him for their accomplishment. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was fulfilled),<sup>132</sup> shall be [a place] where this work is fulfilled, when this work has been accomplished by thee, O possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Viṣṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition, except, as above stated, in the omission of verses 9-16 there given.)

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata :

Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, vv. 12943 ff. — *Virochanasya balavān Baliḥ putro mahāsuraḥ | abadhyah sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-rakshasām | bhaviṣhyati sa Sakrancha eva-rājyād chārayiṣhyati (= chyāvayishyati ?) | trailokye 'prahṛite tena vimukhe cha S'achipatau | Adityān dvādaśādityāḥ sambhaviṣhyāmi Kāśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi S'akrāyāmita-tejase | devatāḥ sthāpayiṣhyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balinchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavancho Balim bṛaṣṭhām abadhyam sarva-daivataiḥ |*

After referring to his Boar, and Man-lion incarnations, Viṣṇu says to Nārada : "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rākshasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born in the form of the twelve Ādityas, the

<sup>131</sup> The participle *siddha* means both "perfect" and "accomplished."

son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I will then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy; will reinstate the gods in their several positions; will place Bali in Pātāla, the eminent Dānava Bali, indestructible by all the gods."

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—<sup>123</sup> *Aditer api putratvam otya Yādava-nandana | tvam Viṣṇur iti vikhyātaḥ Indrād avarajo vibhuḥ |* *śiśur bhūtvā divaṁ khancha prithivīṁcha parantapa | tribhir vikramanaiḥ Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadano* *athitah | atyūrohaścha bhūtātman bhāskaram eva tejasā | prādurbhāva-* *sahasreshu teshu teshu teyā viḍho | adharmaruchayaḥ Kṛishṇa nihatāḥ* *śataśo' surāḥ |* "And thou, Kṛishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Viṣṇu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the ether, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, O soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own lustre. In these thousands of thy manifestations, O all-pervading Kṛishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity."

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa:

Viṣh. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson's translation; vol. iii., p. 18, of Dr. Hall's ed.).—*Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija |* *vāmanah Kaśyapād Viṣṇur Adityāṁ sambabhūva ha | Tribhiḥ kramair* *imān lokān jtvā yena mahātmanā | Pūrandarāya trilokyaṁ dattam* *nihata-kaṇṭhakam |* "So when the Vaivasvata manvantara had arrived, Viṣṇu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), his enemy being destroyed."

The story of Viṣṇu's incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus:

<sup>123</sup> See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note (pp. 587, and 921 of the second edition).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baloḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Hariḥ ayāchata | bhūtvēśvraḥ kṛipāṇa-vai labdārtho 'pi babandha tam |*  
 2. *Etaḍ veditum icchāmo mahat kautūhalaṁ hi naḥ | yajñeśvarasya pūrnasya bandhanaṁ dhāpy anāgataḥ |*

The king asks: "Why did Hari, the lord of creatures, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why, when he had obtained his object, did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?" The sage Suka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmins of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Viśvajit sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11), attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 28), Indra inquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śatoror unnaṭṭ asya kāraṇam | śiṣhyāyopabhṛitaṁ tejo Bhṛigubhir brahma-vādūbhiḥ |* 29. *Bhavad-vidho bhavān vā'pi varjayitveśvaraṁ Hariṁ |* *nāsyā śaktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛitāntasya yathā janūḥ |* 30. *Tasmād nilayam (= adarśanam,<sup>133</sup> Comm.) uterijya yūyaṁ sarve trivishṭapam |* *yāta kālam pratikṣhanto yataḥ śatoror viparyayaḥ |* 31. *Eṣa viprabalodarkaḥ sampraty ūrjita-vikramaḥ | teshā evāvamānena sūnubandho vinankṣhyati |*

"I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bhṛigus, the declarers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, not even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, disappear, expecting [the operation of] time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brāhmins, he shall perish with all his dependents."

<sup>133</sup> The word *nilaya*, however, may also mean "abode," in which case the sense will be "abandoning heaven, your abode, depart," etc.

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 145.)

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhṛigus celebrated for him a hundred aśvamedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Evam abhyarthito 'dityā Kas tām cā smayann iva | aho māyā-balaṁ Viṣṇoḥ meha-baddham idaṁ jagat |* 19. *Kva deho bhautiko 'nātmā kva chātmā prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kasya ke pati-putrādyaḥ mohaḥ eva hi kāraṇam |* 20. *Upatiṣṭhasva Puruṣhaṁ bhugavantaṁ Janārdanaṁ | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsaṁ Vāsudevaṁ jagad-gurum |* 21. *Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnūnukampanaḥ | amoghā bhagavad-bhaktir netareti matir mama |*

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka<sup>134</sup> (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Viṣṇu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (i.e. how great is the superiority of soul to the body!)"<sup>135</sup> Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person?"<sup>136</sup> (i.e. there are no such things

<sup>134</sup> For an explanation of this word see above, p. 15, note 43. Here it stands for

<sup>135</sup> Compare for this idiom the Raghuvamśa, i. 2: *Kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva chātpa-viśayā matiḥ |* "Where is the race descended from the Sun, and where is my mind of which the (proper) objects are so small?" i.e. the disproportion between the two things is great.

<sup>136</sup> This sentiment appears to be here intended as orthodox: but similar observations, when made in the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 f., are spoken of as *dharmaṇya*, which the scholiast in the Bombay edition interprets as = *dharma-mārga-vidhāṁ lokāyatika-matāvalambanam*, i.e., "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyatikas." The words there are: *kaḥ kasya puruṣo bandhuḥ kim āpyaṁ kasya kenachit | eko hi jāyate jantur ekaḥ eva vinasyati |* 4 | *taṁād matā pītā ccheti Bāma sajjeta yo naraḥ | unmattaḥ iva sa jneyo nāsti kaśchid hi kaśyachit |* 3. "What person is the relation of any (other)? what affinity has any one with another? For a creature is born alone, and perishes alone. 4. Whosoever,

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Puruṣha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my judgment."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Viṣṇu in such a way as to obtain her desire, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (*payo-orata*) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Puruṣha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—*Tvayārohitāś chāham apatyā-guptaye payo-  
vratenānugūṇaṁ samīditaḥ | evāṁśena putratvam upetya te sūtān gop-  
tāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhishṭhitaḥ |* 19. *Upadhāva patim bhadre pra-  
jāpatim akalmaṣham | mām cha bhāvayati patyāv evāṁrūpam avasthitaḥ |*  
20. *Naitat parasmai ākhyeyam prishṭayā 'pi kathanchana | sarvaṁ sam-  
padyate devi deva-guhyāṁ susaṁvṛitaḥ |* 21. *Sukhaḥ uvācha | etāvad  
uktvā bhagavāṁs tatraivāntarādhiyata | Aditir durlabhaṁ labdhvā Harer  
janmātmani prabhoḥ | upādhāvat patim bhaktyā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat |*  
22. *Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani  
Harer oṁśaṁ hy avitathekṣaṇaḥ |* 23. *So 'dityāṁ vīryāṁ ādhatta tapasā  
chira-sambhṛitaḥ | samāhita-manāḥ rūjan dāraṇy agniṁ yathā 'nilaḥ |*

"Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in

therefore, is attached to any person, (thinking 'this is my) father or mother,' is mad. No one is anything to any other." The word *āpyam* in verse 3, which I have rendered by "affinity," according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as = *prāpyam*, "to be obtained." The clause, according to him, would thus mean: "What is to be obtained by any one person from any other?" The word may here, however, perhaps have the Vedic sense, although it is unusual, if not elsewhere unknown, in modern Sanskrit. Gorresio's edition, ii. 116, 12, has *kāryam* instead of *āpyam*, thus making the meaning to be, "What has any one person to do with any other?"



this form abide within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, O goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain intuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

We have already seen that Viṣṇu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 118 ff.). The connexion with the old legend is therefore preserved here, as well as in the story given in the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, above, pp. 132 and 134.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūṣaṇāyudhair avyakta-chid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | bābhūva tenaiva sa vāmano baṭuḥ sam-paśyator divya-gatir yathā naṣaṭ |* "With that body which Hari, the invisible spirit, had assumed, and which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons,—with that same body, he, whose ways are supernatural, became, while [his parents] were looking on, a dwarfish Brahmanical student, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the aśvamedha sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.<sup>137</sup> Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.).—*Tat-pāda-śauḥṣaṇ jana-kalmāṣāpahaṇ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Girīśat chandra-maulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayā oha bhaktyā |* 29. *Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyam brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmarahīṇāṁ tapaḥ sākṣhād manyo tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . .* 32. *Yad yad baṭo vānehhasi tat pratichha me tvām arthinam vipra-sūtanūtarkayo | gām*

<sup>137</sup> It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

*kānchanam guṇavad dhāma mṛiṣṭam tāthā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-kanyām | grāmān sampridhāms turagān gajān vā rathāms tāthā 'rhattama sampratichha |* 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Gīrīśa (Śiva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . . 32. Ask of me, student, whatever thou desirest; son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant; ask, most venerable youth, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.' "

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily, with a hypocritical pretence of moderation not very creditable to a god, ends with the seemingly modest demand of three paces of ground :

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tvatto mahim īśhād vṛiṇe 'ham varadar-shabbhāt | padāni trīṇi daityendra sammitāni padā mama |* 17. *Nānyat te kāmāye rājan vadānyāḥ jagadīśvarāt | nainah prāpnoti vai vidvān yāvad-artha-pratigrahaḥ |* 18. *Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṇa-dūyāda vācha te vṛiddha-sammatāḥ | tvam bālo bālīśa-matiḥ svārtham praty abudho yathā |* 19. *Mām vacchobhīḥ samarādhyā lokānām ekam īśvaram | pada-trayaṁ vṛiṇīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāsusham |* 20. *Na pumān mām upravrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛittikarim bhūmiṁ baṭo kāmam pratichha me |* 21. *Śrī-bhagavān uvācha | yāvanto viśhayāḥ preśhṭhās trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te sarve pratipūrayitūṁ nṛipa |* 22. *Tribhīḥ kramair asantushṭo dvīpenāpi na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptaadvīpa-varechhayā | . . . . .* 27. *Tasmāt trīṇi padāny eva vṛiṇe tvad varadarshabbhāt | etāvataiva viddho 'ham vittam yāvat prāyojanam |* 28. *Sukaḥ uvācha | ity uktaḥ sa hasann āha vānchhitam pratigrihyatām | vāmanāya mahim dātum jagrāha jala-bhājanam |*

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs.

18. Bali answered : 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words revorenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests : wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied : 'All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, O king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine divisions (*varshas*), since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.<sup>128</sup> . . . 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' 28. Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water."

Uśanas,<sup>129</sup> however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Viṣṇu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited :

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Viṣṇave kṣhmūṃ pradāsyantam Uśanā asure-śvaram | jñanāś chikīrṣhitāṃ Viṣṇoḥ śiṣhyam prāha vidāṃ varāḥ |* 30. *Sukrāchāryaḥ uvācha | Eṣha Vairochane sūkṣhād bhagavān Viṣṇur avyayaḥ | Kāsyapād Aditer jāto devānām kārya-sādhaḥ |* 31. *Pratiśrutāṃ tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānām mahān upagato 'nayaḥ |* 32. *Eṣha te sthānam aiśvaryaṃ śrīyaṃ tejo yaśaḥ śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Sakrāya māyā-mānavako Hariḥ |* 33. *Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān viśva-kūyaḥ kramiṣhyati | sarvasvaṃ Viṣṇave dattoḃ mūḍha vartīṣhyase katham |* 34. *Kramato gām padaikena dvitīyena divaṃ vibhoḥ | khaṃ cha kāyena mahatā tṛtīyasya kuto gatiḥ |* 35. *Niṣ-ṭhām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ praṭīśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo 'nīśaḥ pratipādayitum bhavān |* 36. *Na 'tad dānam praśaṃsanti yena vṛttir vipadyate | dānāṃ yajnas tapaḥ karma loka vṛttimato yataḥ |* 37. *Dharmāya yaśase 'rthāya kāmāya svajanāya cha | panchadhā vibhajan vittaṃ ihāmutra cha modate |* 38. *Ātrāpi bahuvrīchair gītāṃ śṛiṇu me*

<sup>128</sup> See the first volume of this work, pp. 489 ff. for an account of these continents and varshas.

<sup>129</sup> See the second volume of this work, p. 386, note 65.

'sura-sattama | satyam om iti yat proktaṁ yan nety āhāṇṛitaṁ hi tat |  
 39. *Satyam pushpa-phalaṁ vidyād ātma-vrikshasya jīvataḥ | vriksho*  
*'jīvati tan na syād anṛitam mūlam ātmanaḥ |* 40. *Tad yathā vrikshaḥ*  
*unmūlaḥ śuśhyaty udvartate 'chirāt | evaṁ nashāṇṛitaḥ sadyaḥ ātmā*  
*śuśhyed na saṁśayaḥ |* 41. *Parāḡ riktam apūrṇaṁ vai aksharaṁ yat*  
*tad "om" iti | yat kinchid "om" iti brūyāt tena richyeta vai pumān |*  
 42. *Bhikṣhave sarvaṁ om kurvaṁ nālaṁ kāmēna chātmane | athaitat*  
*pūrṇam abhyātmaṁ yach cha nety anṛitaṁ vacchaḥ |* 43. *Sarvaṁ nety*  
*anṛitam brūyāt sa duṣhkīrtiḥ śvasan mṛitaḥ | strīṣhu narma-vivāhe cha*  
*vṛitty-arthe prāṇa-sankaṣṭe | go-brāhmaṇārthe hīṁśūyāṁ nānṛitaṁ syāj*  
*jugupsitam |*

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Viṣṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the earth to that deity: 30. 'This, O son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Viṣṇu himself, born of Kāśyapa and Aditi, [to be] the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf, having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Śakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Viṣṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [occupied] the heaven with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to bestow it) of what thou hast engaged to give. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined: for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means. 37. The man who divides his property into five parts destined severally for purposes of religion, renown, personal interest, pleasure and family support, is happy in this world as well as in the next.<sup>140</sup> 38. Hear from me, most excellent of the

<sup>140</sup> The drift of verses 38 ff., which are founded upon a passage of the Veda quoted by the commentator, is thus explained by him: *Nanu tarhi pratīśrutya "na" iti*

Asuras, what has been sung on this subject by teachers of the Rigveda : to say "yes" is to be true ; to say "no" is to be false. 39. Know that truth is celebrated as the flower and fruit of that tree, one's self, while it is alive; but this cannot be the case unless the tree lives; [therefore, when it tends to our preservation], falsehood is the root of one's self. 40.

*katham anṛitam vācyaṃ | tatra āha sūrdhhaḥ śhaḍbhīḥ | atrāpi satyānṛita-vyavas-  
thāyām bahvṛicṣa-srutyā hi prathamam "om" iti satyāṃ 'na' iti anṛitam" ity ādinā  
satyānṛitayor lakṣhaṇa-pūrvakaṃ stuti-nindābhyāṃ satyāṃ vihitam anṛitāṃ cha  
niskiddham anantaram cha "parūḡ vai etad riktam akaharam" ity ādinā satyo doṣhān  
anṛite cha guṇān uktvā "tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyānṛite mith-  
unīkaroti" ity upasāmhāreṇa vṛtti-sankopādishv anṛitam apy anyajātam tam itaṃ  
śruty-arthaṃ darśayann āha |* "But the objection arises, how, after promising, can a  
man say 'no,' and thus be guilty of falsehood? To this he replies in six and a half  
verses. Here, with a view to fixing the rules regarding truth and falsehood, after  
having first of all stated the characteristic marks of each, according to these words of  
the Rigvedic doctors, "yes" is truth, and "no" is falsehood, etc., and having by  
praise and blame shown that truth is enjoined and falsehood forbidden, he cites the  
clause, 'this word denotes removal and evacuation,' etc., to indicate the faults of truth  
and the virtues of falsehood; and lastly, after quoting the words, 'he combines truth  
and falsehood by saying "let a man give and withhold on the proper occasions,"' he  
sums up by deciding that falsehood is permitted when necessary for the sake of sub-  
sistence, and in straits, etc. Propounding this doctrine of scripture, he says, etc."

The words of the passage here referred to, from a Bahvṛicṣa-S'ruti (Rigveda  
Brāhmaṇa or Upanishad, which is unknown to me), as quoted by the commentator  
in his notes on verses 40, 41, and 42 of this passage, are as follows: "Om" iti satyāṃ  
"na" iti anṛitam | tad etat pushpam phalam vācho yat satyam | sa ha īśvaro yajaso  
kalyāṇa-kīrtir bhavati | pushpāṃ hi phalaṃ vāchaḥ satyāṃ vadati | aha etad mūlāṃ  
vācho yad anṛitam | tad yatāḥ vṛkṣaḥ āvirmūlāḥ śuśyati sa udvartate evam eva  
anṛitāṃ vadann āvirmūlam ātmānaṃ karoti sa śuśyati sa udvartate | tasmād anṛitāṃ  
na vadet dayeta tv enena | [anena tv anṛitena "dayeta" sankāśeshv ātmānaṃ rakṣhet  
iti śruty-arthaḥ | Comm.] parūḡ vai etad riktam akaharam yad etad "om" iti | tad  
yat kincha "om" ity āha atra eva aśmai tad richyate | sa yat sarvaṃ "om" kuryād  
richyād ātmānaṃ sa kāmebhyo nālāṃ syāt | Aha etat pūrṇam abhyātmaṃ yad  
"na" iti | sa yat sarvaṃ "na" iti brūyāt pāpikā sya kīrtir jāyeta | sū enam tatra  
eva hanyāt | Tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyānṛite mithunīkaroti |

"Yes" (om) is true, 'no' is false. Truth is the flower, and the fruit, of speech. He  
shall be lord, famous, of excellent renown : for he utters truth, the flower, and the fruit,  
of speech. Again, falsehood is the root of speech. Just as a tree, the root of which  
is exposed, dries up, and falls, so a man, uttering a falsehood, exposes his own roots,  
dries up, and falls. Wherefore let no man utter falsehood, but let him protect him-  
self by it." [Such is the sense assigned to *dayeta tv enena* by the commentator, who  
adds "in straits."] "This word, 'yes,' denotes removal and emptiness. Therefore  
by every 'yes' which is uttered, emptiness is occasioned. The man who says always  
'yes' will empty himself, and not have sufficient for his wishes. Again, the word  
'no' denotes fulness in one's own interest. He who says always 'no' will acquire  
an evil reputation, which will straightway destroy him. Wherefore he combines  
truth and falsehood by [the rule] let a man give and withhold at the proper times."

Wherefore, as a tree, when uprooted, dries up and falls, so too we ourselves, if we abandon falsehood, shall undoubtedly become dried up.

41. The word "yes" denotes removal, evacuation, and emptiness; whenever, then, any person says "yes," he will be emptied out. 42. By continually saying "yes" to an applicant, a man does not retain enough to satisfy his own desires; whilst a false "no" [preserves our] full [property] for ourselves. 43. The man whose every "no" is false, is infamous, and dead even while he breathes. But falsehood is not blamable when addressed to women, or in jest, or in reference to a marriage, or for subsistence, or when life is in danger, or on behalf of cows and Brāhmins, or when one is exposed to violence."

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience:

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Evam asraddhitaṁ kishyam anūdeśa-karaṁ guruḥ | śaśāpa daiva-prahitaṁ satyaśandham manasvinam |* 15. "*Driḍham paṇḍita-mūny ajnaḥ stabdho 'sy asmad-apekṣayā | mach-ehhāsanātigo yas team achirād bhrāśyase śriyaḥ*" | 16. *Evam śaptaḥ sva-gurunā satyād na chaliṭo mahān | vāmanāya dadāv enām archilvodaḥ-pūrvakam |* 17. *Vindhyāvalis tadā gatyā patnī jāḷaka-mālīnī<sup>141</sup> | āninye kalāśaṁ haimam avanejany-apām<sup>142</sup> bhṛitam |* 18. *Yajamānaḥ svayaṁ tasya śrīmat-pūḍa-yugaṁ mudā | avanijyāvahad mūrdhni tad-apo viśva-pūvaniḥ |*

14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], who would not depart from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Next the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed."

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and

<sup>141</sup> *Jāḷakam muktūbharaṇa-vileśaḥ* | Comm.

<sup>142</sup> *Avanejanīmām apām* | Comm.

rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand :

(Sect. 20, v. 21).—*Tad vāmanaṁ rūpam avarāhatādbhutaṁ Harer anantasya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayaś tiryak-nṛi-devāḥ rishayo yad asata |* “That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which were comprehended the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods and rishis.”

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced on the Asuras, and other beings, is given in verses 22-32; and at length the strides of the deity are thus described :

(Sect. 20, v. 33).—*Kṣhitim padaikena Baler vicchakrame nabhaḥ śāri-rena diśascha bāhubhiḥ | pādāṁ dvitīyaṁ kramatas trivishṭapaṁ na vai ṭṛitīyāya tadīyam anv api | ur-kramasyānhrir upary upary atho mahar-janābhyāṁ tapasaḥ purāṁ gataḥ |* “He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.”<sup>143</sup>

The gods assemble (sect. 21) to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the king of the bears :

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.).—*Jāmbavān rikṣa-rājas tu bheri-śabdair mano-javaḥ | vijayaṁ dikṣhu sarvāsu mahotsavam aghoshayat | 9. Mahīm sarvām hṛitāṁ dṛiṣṭvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchnayā | ūchuḥ sva-bhartur asurāḥ dikṣhitasyātyamarṣitāḥ | 10. Na vai ayam brahma-bandhur Viṣṇur māyāvinām varāḥ | dvija-rūpa-praticchanno deva-kāryaṁ chikīrṣati | 11. Anena yāchamānena śatruṇā baṭu-rūpiṇā | sarvasam no hṛitam bhartur nyastadāṇḍasya varhishḥ | 12. Satya-vratasya satatāṁ dikṣhitasya viśeṣataḥ | nānṛitam bhāṣhituṁ śakyam brahmanyasya dayā-vataḥ | 13. Tasmād asya badhe dharmo bhartuḥ śuśrūṣaṇe cha naḥ | ity āyudhāni jagṛihur Baler anucharāsurāḥ | 14. Te sarve vāmanaṁ hantūṁ śula-paṭṭiṣa-pāṇayāḥ | anichchato Baleḥ rājan prādravan jātamanavaḥ |*

8. “Jāmbavat, king of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this

<sup>143</sup> See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa (p. 48, note, and p. 213 = pp. 98, vol. i., and 226, vol. ii., of Dr. Hall's ed.) for an account of these Lokas.

victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. 9. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras, greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Viṣṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. 11. By this enemy, in the form of a suppliant student, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is pious and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him (the dwarf), and obey our master:—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf."<sup>144</sup>

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Viṣṇu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuṇa, and reproached by Viṣṇu for failing to fulfil his promise:

(Sect. 21, v. 26.)—*Atha Tūrṅkshy-suto jñātvā Virāṭ prabhu-chikitrshitam | babandha Varuṇaiḥ pāśair Baliṁ sautyē 'hani kratau | 27. Hāhā-kāro mahān āsīd rodasyoḥ sarvato-dīśam | grihyamāṇe 'sura-patau Viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā | 28. Tam baddhaṁ Varuṇaiḥ pāśair bhagavān āha vāmanaḥ | nashṭa-śriyam sthira-prajnam udāra-yāsasam nripa | 29. Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyaṁ tvayā 'sura | dvābhyāṁ krāntā mahi sarvā tritīyam upakalpaya | 30. Yāvāt tapaty asau gobhir yāvāt Induḥ sahoḍubhiḥ | Yāvāt varṣhati Parjanyaś tāvātī bhūr iyaṁ tava | 31. Padaikena mayā krānto bhūrlokaḥ khaṁ dīśas tanoḥ | svarlokaś tu dvitīyena paśyatas te evam ātmanā | 32. Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vasaḥ iśhyate | viśa tvaṁ nirayaṁ tasmād gurunā chānumoditāḥ | 33. Vṛthā manorathas tasya dūra-svargaḥ (duresvargaḥ, Bombay ed.) pataty adhaḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rthitam<sup>145</sup> | 34. Vipra-*

<sup>144</sup> It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

<sup>145</sup> The reading given of this line is that of Burnouf's edition. The Bombay edition has instead of it: *pratiśrutasyādānena yo 'rthinaṁ vipralambhate* | "who deceives a suppliant by not giving him what had been promised."



*labdho dadāmi tvayā 'haṁ chādhyā-māninā | tad-vyalīka-phalam  
bhunkshva nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ |* 26. "Then Virāt (Garuḍa), the son of Tārkshya, knowing the purpose of the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa<sup>146</sup> at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 27. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Viṣṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire world has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This world of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who, after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst "I give." Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.' "

Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-śloka bhavān mameritaṁ vacho vyalīkaṁ  
sura-varya manyate | karomy ṛitaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ  
tṛitīyaṁ kuru śirśṇi me nijaṁ |* 3. *Bibhemi nāhaṁ nirayāt pada-chyuto  
na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | naivārtha-kṛichhrād bhavato  
vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhrīṣam udvijo yaṭṭhā |*

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, thou considerest the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I now make it good,—and here there can be no deception,—place thy third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor mis-

<sup>146</sup> See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be *bhūri-pāśāv anṛitasya seiṁ* | "barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses."—See Roth's article on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 57, 65.

fortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor thy restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority, and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali next worships Vishṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Vishṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Esha dānava-daityānām agranīḥ kīrti-vardhanaḥ | ajaiśhīd ajayām māyām sīdann api na muhyati | 29. Kṣhīṇa-rikthaś chyuṭaḥ sthānāt kṣhīpto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ | jñātībhiḥśo parityakto yātānām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Gurunā bhartsitaḥ śipto jahau satyām na svrataḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo [quere dharmam?] nāyam tyajati satyavāk | 31. Esha me prāpitaḥ sthānam dushprāpam amarair api | Sāvārner antaryāyāṃ bhaviteṣṭro mad-āśrayaḥ | 32. Tūvat sutalam adhyastām Viśvakarma-vinirmītam | yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha kīlmas tandrā parābhavaḥ | nopasargāḥ nivasatām sambhavanti mame-chhaya |*

28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it.<sup>147</sup> 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvārṇi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman. where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigues, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: *Aho prajānāmāya kṛitaḥ samud-yamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ | yal lokapālāḥ tvadanu-graho 'marair alabdha-pūrvo 'pasado 'sure 'rpiṭaḥ | 3. Sukhaḥ uvācha | ity ukṭvā Harim ānamya Brahmānam sa-Bhavam tataḥ | viveśa Sutalam prīto Balir muktaḥ sahasurair | 2. "O, even the effort made to adore*

<sup>147</sup> If we should read *dharmam* instead of *dharmah*, the sense would be: "Though deceitfully addressed by me, he does not abandon duty."

thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (Śiva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras." Viṣṇu now addresses Uśanas, the priest of Bali:

(Sect. 23, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasasāṃ rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike | āśīnam ritvijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām |* 14. *Brahman santanu śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaiśamyam brahma-dṛṣṭaṁ samam bhavet |* 15. *Sukraḥ uvācha | Kutas tat-karma-vaiśamyam yasya karmesvaro bhavān | yajneśo yajnapurushaḥ sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ |* 16. *Mantratas tantratas chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-vas-tutaḥ | sarvaṁ karoti nischhidraṁ anusankīrtanaṁ tava |* 17. *Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishyāmy anusāsanam | etach chhreyasḥ param puṁsām yat tavājñānupālanaṁ |* 18. *S'ukaḥ uvācha | abhinandya Harer ājñām Uśanā bhagavān iti | yajna-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarashibhiḥ saha |* 19. *Evam Baler mahīm rājan dhikshitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivāṁ yat parair hṛitam |* 13. "Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of expounders of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. 'Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.' 15. Sukra (Uśanas) replied: 'How can there be any irregularity in that coremony of which thou art the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial Man, adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being, I shall fulfil the injunction which I utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thee.' 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Being, which the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali's sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra<sup>148</sup> and which had been taken from him by his enemies."

<sup>148</sup> Viṣṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or <sup>the</sup> Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 133, lin <sup>from</sup> the bottom.

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, represents Viṣṇu, of whom the dwarf was an incarnation, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things:

(Sect. 23, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitri-bhūmipaiḥ | Dakṣa-Bṛhgu-Agiro-mukhyaḥ Kumāraḥ Bhavā cha | 21. Kāśya-pasyāditeḥ prītyai sarva-bhūta-bhāvāya chā | lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vāmanam patim | 22. Vedānām sarva-devānām dharmasya yāśasāḥ śrīyāḥ | mangalānām vratānāṃ cha kalpam svargāpavargayoḥ | 23. Upendraṁ kalpayānchakre patiṁ sarva-vibhūtayā | tadā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhṛīṣam mumudire nṛipa | 20.* "Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, ṛishis, pitris, with Dakṣa, Bṛhgu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kāśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the Dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Viṣṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly."

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 72) in glorification of Viṣṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the story of the Dwarf incarnation.

This incarnation is also briefly related in the Agni Purāṇa, iv. 5b-11, and is either referred to, or narrated more or less diffusely, in the Harivamśa, verses 2725; 4159; 4166; 12195-12204; and 12900-14390. In the last-mentioned verses the story is told at length, with the various conflicts between the gods and Asuras by which it had been preceded. The incarnation itself and its results are related in vv. 14039-14390. Sections 231-233 of the Matsya Purāṇa are devoted to the same subject.<sup>149</sup> I give an abstract of the 47th section, in which Viṣṇu's incarnations are enumerated.<sup>150</sup> It is here stated that it was in consequence of a curse pronounced by Bṛhgu (as we shall

<sup>149</sup> See Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 42b. The Matsya Purāṇa has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahratti explanation; but the portion containing the sections in question has not yet reached me.

<sup>150</sup> In verse 9 it is said that Kāśyapa was a portion of Brahmā, and Aditi of the Earth (*Brahmanah Kāśyapas tv aṁśah Prithivyās tv Aditis tathā*).

see further on) that Vishṇu assumed most of these forms (v. 37). There were twelve conflicts between the gods and Asuras (vv. 39–52). It is related (vv. 58 ff.) that on one occasion when Prahrāda had been overcome, and Indra had gained the empire of the three worlds, Sukra, the priest of the Asuras, left them and went to the gods.<sup>150</sup> They, however, entreated him not to desert them, when he reassured them by the promise of his support (vv. 60 ff.). They were nevertheless attacked by the gods, and again resorted to Sukra; when their assailants left them. Sukra then referred to their former discomfitures, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahādeva and obtain certain sacred texts which would insure their victory (vv. 65 ff.). They then promised to the gods to desist from hostilities and betake themselves to austerities (vv. 73 ff.). Sukra accordingly went to Mahādeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Brihaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (*kaṇa-dhūma*)<sup>151</sup> with his head downward for a thousand years. This he agreed to do (vv. 78 ff.). Hearing of this, and taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Asuras, the gods went to attack them. The Asuras remonstrated, and in the absence of Sukra, resorted to his mother for help, and were reassured by her (vv. 83 ff.). The gods, however, followed, and assailed them, when the goddess (Sukra's mother—her name is not given), by her magical power, rendered Indra helpless, and then the other gods took to flight (vv. 91 ff.). Vishṇu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Vishṇu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Vishṇu to slay her before she could carry her threat into effect. Vishṇu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (vv. 95 ff.). Vishṇu was hereupon doomed by a curse of Sukra to be born seven times in the world of men; and in consequence of this he appears for

<sup>150</sup> Compare Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vii. 6, 20: *Uśanū vai Kāvya 'surāṇām purohitāḥ āsīt | taṁ devāḥ kāmādughābhīr (kāma-dugdhābhīr gobhiḥ | Comm.) upā-mantrayanta | tasmai etāny auśanāni prāyachhan | kāmādughāḥ vai auśanāni |* "Uśanas Kāvya was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milch cows. They gave him these Auśana texts. Auśana texts are milch cows."

<sup>151</sup> I have to thank Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kāśī Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Pur. 18, 2, viz. *Keṇāḥ khaṇḍitās tanḍulatushās tajjanyaṁ dhūmam |*

the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails: <sup>182</sup> (vv. 102 *taṁ drishṭvā strī-badhaṁ ghoraṁ chukrodha Bhṛigur īsvaraḥ | tato 'bhisāpto Bhṛiguṇā Viṣṇur bhāryā-badhe tadā | 103 | yasmāt te jānato dharmam abadhya strī nishūditū | tasmāt tvaṁ saptakṛitveha mānusheshū-papatsyasi | 104 | tatas tenābhisāpena nashṭe dharmo punaḥ punaḥ | lokasya cha hitārthāya jāyate mānushesho iha*). Sukra then sprinkled his mother with water, and restored her to life, an act and result which were applauded by all creatures (vv. 105 ff.). Indra now, with the intention of counteracting Sukra's austerities, sent his daughter Jayantī to the saint to wait upon and soothe him by her assiduous and affectionate attentions and services, till the conclusion of his painful performances (vv. 111 ff.). She found him in the act of being thrown down into the pit of fire by the Yakṣha who had prepared it, and drinking in the smoke of the chaff, with his head downward, and though enfeebled, yet tranquilly meditating on the form of Mahādeva (vv. 116 ff. *taṁ drishṭvā tu pibantaṁ sū kanādhūmam avāṇmukham | yuṣkeṇa pātyamānaṁ cha kuṇḍa-dhāreṇa pātitaṁ | drishṭvā cha tam pātyamānaṁ devī Kāvyam avasthitaṁ | svarūpa-dhyāna-śūmyantaṁ durbalam bhūtim āsthitaṁ*); lauded him with endearing language, and rubbed his limbs with her gentle touch (v. 118). At the conclusion of his austere rite, continued for a thousand years, Mahādeva applauded him as the only person who had ever performed it; and granted him a variety of boons, including superiority to the gods. Sukra lauded the god in a hymn of 41 stanzas, consisting of an enumeration of his attributes (vv. 119 ff.). Mahādeva, gratified, touched the saint with his hand, granted him a vision of his form, and then disappeared (v. 167). Sukra then noticed Jayantī standing beside him, expressed

<sup>182</sup> I have not elsewhere met with an explanation of Viṣṇu's incarnations so dishonourable to the god. Yet even here he is said to be born for the good of mankind when righteousness has declined, with a view to its restoration—a singular result of a curse! Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā given above, p. 53, and vv. 7 and 8 of the 4th sect. of the same work: *Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati Bhūrata | abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā 'tinānaṁ erijāmy aham | paritrāṇāya sādhuṇāṁ vināśāya cha duṣkṛitām | dharmā-samsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge* | “Whenever righteousness declines, and unrighteousness arises, then I create myself. For the deliverance of the good and the destruction of the wicked, I am born in every Yuga.” See also the 32nd verse of the hymn to Viṣṇu in the 10th Canto of the Raghuvamśa: *Anavāptam avaptavyaṁ na te kinchana vidyate | lokā-nugrahaḥ evaiko hetus to janma-karmaṇoḥ* | “Thou hast nothing unobtained to obtain. Kindness to men is the only cause of thy birth and of thy action.”

himself gratified by her devoted attentions, asked her what she wished, and promised to bestow it. She replied that he, in virtue of his transcendent knowledge, should know what she wished. Her desire was, he said, to live in his company for ten years. This he granted, and took her home and married her. They lived together, rendered invisible to all eyes by his magical power, for ten years (vv. 168 ff.). The Asuras, however, learning the success of their preceptor's austerities, came to his abode, but failed to see him. Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, knowing that Sukra would be occupied with Jayanti for ten years, at the instigation of Indra, took advantage of this circumstance to assume his form, and summoning the Asuras, passed himself off to them as their spiritual guide, and offered to act as their teacher, an offer which they gladly accepted (vv. 177 ff.). As the fruit of Sukra's ten years' cohabitation with Jayanti, a daughter, Devayāni, was born. Sukra then resolved to visit his pupils, and informed Jayanti of this intention, the fulfilment of which she admitted to be a duty, and said she would not stand in the way of its performance. He accordingly went and found that the Asuras had been deluded by Brihaspati, who had assumed his (Sukra's) form. He told them that he was Sukra; and when they were bewildered by the sight of the two sages identical in appearance, he repeated that he was their genuine preceptor, and that the other was Brihaspati, and demanded that they should forsake the latter, and follow him. They, however, were unable to distinguish between the two; and Brihaspati asseverated that he was the genuine Sukra, and that the other was Brihaspati. The Asuras, considering that the person who had taught them for ten years was their real preceptor, made obeisance to him, and angrily rejected the claim of Sukra to be their Guru. They were in consequence doomed by the curse of the incensed sage (Sukra) to lose their senses and incur defeat (vv. 183 ff.). Satisfied with this result, Brihaspati reassumed his own proper form, and disappeared. Seeing that they had been deluded, the Asuras, headed by Prahāda, followed Sukra, and appeared before him with downcast looks. Though at first angry, he was at length pacified by their entreaties, reassured them by saying that they would regain their senses and gain one victory over the gods, though after that they should have to descend to the infernal regions, the period of their dominion de-

clared by Brahmā having then expired. In the Sāvarni Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahrāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahrāda, which Brahmā had forbidden Sukra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendancy, the Asuras desired to anticipate the time of its realization, and challenged the gods to battle. A combat ensued, which lasted for a thousand years, at the end of which the Asuras were victorious. The gods then took counsel together, and invited Saṇḍa and Marka<sup>153</sup> (who are mentioned in verse 39, and appear to be the pupils of Brihaspati alluded to in v. 221) to abandon the Asuras, and aid them (the gods) in their sacrifice. If they succeeded in obtaining this aid, they were confident they should overcome the Asuras. Saṇḍa and Marka accepted the invitation, and the gods conquered the Asuras; who, being forsaken by these two priests, and undergoing the consequences of Sukra's curse, were expelled by their adversaries from the upper world, and entered the infernal regions [226. *Yajnenopāh-vayāmas tau tato jeshyāmaḥ 'surān | tadopāmantrayan devāḥ Saṇḍa-markau tu tāv ubhau |* 227. *yajne chāhuya tau proktau "tyajetām asurān dvijau | vayaṁ yuvām bhajishyāmaḥ saha jītvā tu dānavān" |* 228. *evam kṛitābhisandhi tau Saṇḍamarkau surās tathā | tato devāḥ jayam prāpur dānavās cha parājitāḥ |* 229. *Saṇḍamarka-parityaktāḥ dānavāḥ hy abalās tathā | evam daityāḥ purā Kāvya-sāpenābhīhatās tadā |* 230. *Kāvya-sāpābhībhātās te nirādhārās cha sarvaśaḥ | nirasyamānāḥ devaiś cha vivisus te rasātataḥ |* ] (vv. 223 ff.). In consequence of Sukra's curse, which operated periodically, Viṣṇu was born time after time, (see above, p. 152), after a decline of righteousness, which he re-established, destroying the Asuras. For Brahmā had decreed that all those Asuras who should be disobedient to Prahrāda<sup>154</sup> should be slain by men (231. *tatuḥ-prabhṛti sāpena Bhṛigor naimittikena tu |* 232. *fajne punaḥ punar Viṣṇur dharme prasithiḥ prabhūḥ | kurvan dharma-vyavasthānam asurāṇām praṇāśanam |* 233. *Prahrādasya nidēśe tu na sthāsyanty asurās cha ye | manushya-badhyās te sarve Brahmoti vyāharat prabhūḥ |* Viṣṇu's incarnations are then enumerated (verses

<sup>153</sup> See the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note.

<sup>154</sup> Regarding Prahrāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii, pp. 80-68.



234-245) viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Narasinha, or Man-lion, and (3) the Dwarf, incarnations, which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being the human incarnations caused by Sukra's curse (v. 238. *Etās tīraḥ smṛitās tasya divyāḥ sambhūṭayo dvijāḥ | mānushāḥ sapta yānyāś* (sic.) *tu śūpajās tāḥ nibodhata*). These seven are (4) the Dattātreyā, (5) Māndhātṛi, (6) Paraśurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha, (10) Kalki, incarnations. (Eight instead of seven are obtained if, with the Mahratti expounder, we understand the beginning of verse 243 to refer to Kṛishṇa.) The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives twenty-two incarnations (i. 3, 1 ff.) viz. : Those in the forms of (1) Puruṣha, (2) Varāha or the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārīyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattātreyā, (7) Yajña or Sacrifice, (8) Rishabhā, (9) Prithu, (10) Matsya or the Fish, (11) Kūrma or, the Tortoise, (12 and 13), Dhanvantari, (14) Narasinha or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana or the Dwarf, (16) Paraśurāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalki. These last two are represented as future. But the incarnations of Viṣṇu are innumerable, like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Rishis, Manus, gods, sons of Manus, Prajāpatis are all portions of him (verse 26. *Avatārōḥ hy asankheyōḥ Hareḥ sattva-nidher dvijāḥ | yathā 'vidāsinaḥ kulyōḥ sarasaḥ syuḥ sahasraśaḥ |* 27. *ṛishayo manavo devōḥ manu-putrāḥ mahaujasaḥ | kalōḥ sarve Harer eva saprajāpatayas tathā*).

SECT. V.—*Viṣṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Viṣṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 64 that neither Yāska himself, nor Sākapūṇi and Aurnavābha, the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Viṣṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 66, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods

of primary consequence, and that of these Vishnu is not one. As the passage from which this latter extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length :

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad yo 'nādishta-devatāḥ mantrās tesu devatopaparikshā | yad-devatāḥ sa yajno vā yajnāṅgaṁ vā tad-devatāḥ bhavanti | atha anyatra yajñāt prajāpatyāḥ iti yājñikāḥ | nārāsaṁsāḥ iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sū kāma-devatā syāt prūyo-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loke deva-devatyam atithi-devatyam pitṛi-devatyam | yājña-daivato mantrāḥ iti | api hy adevatāḥ devatā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛtiṇy ośhadhi-paryantāny athāpy ośhtau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantūn iva arthān devatānām pratyakṣa-dṛīṣyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatūyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nyo devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmadbhir iśhayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sarvanāmnyāc cha itaretarā-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ karma-janmānaḥ ātma-janmānaḥ | ātmā eva eśāṁ ratho bhavaty ātmā 'śvāḥ ātmā 'yudham ātmā iśhavaḥ ātmā sarvaṁ devasya |*  
 5. *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agniḥ prithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyūḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhīdhanāni | yatho etat—"karma-prithaktvād" iti bahavo 'pi vibhajya karmāni kuryuḥ | tatra saīsthānaikatvaṁ sambhogaiikatvaṁ cha upekshitavyam | yathā prithivyām manushyāḥ paśavo devāḥ iti sthānaikatvam | sambhogaiikatvaṁ cha dṛīṣyate yathā prithivyāḥ Parjanya cha Vāyo-Ādityābhyāṁ cha sambhogo 'gninā cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etad nara-rāshīram iva |*  
 6. *Atha ūkāra-chintanaṁ devatānām | puruṣa-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhīdhanāni | athāpi pauruṣa-vidhikair angaiḥ saṁstūyante | "iśhvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū" (R. V. vi. 47, 8); "yat sangrihñāḥ maghavan kṣīr it te" (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | athāpi pauruṣa-vidhikair dravya-samyogaiḥ | "ā dvābhyāṁ haribhyāṁ Indra yāhi" (R. V. ii. 18, 4); "kalyāṇīr jāyā suraṇāṁ grihe te" (R. V. iii. 53, 6) athāpi pauruṣa-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ | "addhi Indra piba cha prasthitasya" (R. V. x. 116, 2); "āsrutkarṇa śrudhi havam" (R. V. i. 10, 9) |*  
 7. *Apuruṣa-vidhāḥ syur ity aparam | api tu yad dṛīṣyate 'puruṣa-vidhāṁ tat | yathā 'gnir vāyur ādityaḥ prithivī chandramāḥ iti | yatho etat "chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny*

apy evaṁ stūyante yathā 'kṣha-prabhṛitīṇy ośadhī-paryantāni | yatho  
 etat "pauruṣha-vidhikair angaiḥ saṁstūyante" ity aśhetanesho apy etad  
 bhavati | "abhi krandanti haritebbhir āsabbhir" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho  
 etat "pauruṣha-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogair" ity etad api tādrīṣam eva |  
 "sukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuje sindhur āsvinam" iti nadi-stutiḥ | yatho etat  
 "pauruṣha-vidhikair karmabhir" ity etad api tādrīṣam eva | "hotuḥ chit  
 pūrvo havir adyam āsata" iti grāva-stutir eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhau  
 syuḥ | api vā puruṣha-vidhānām eva satām karmātmānāḥ ete syuḥ | yathā  
 yajno yajamānasya | eṣa cha ākhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ  
 ity uktam purastāt | tūśm bhakti-sūhacharyaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha  
 etāny Agni-bhaktīny ayaṁ lokaḥ prātāḥ-savanaṁ vāsanto gāyatrī trivṛt-  
 stomo rathantaraṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne  
 'gnāyī prithivī ilā iti strīyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanam cha havishām  
 āvahanam cha devatānām yach cha kinchid dārshṭi-vishayikam Agni-  
 karma eva tat | atha asya saṁstavikāḥ devāḥ Indraḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ  
 Parjanyaḥ rītavaḥ | Āgnā-Vaiśṇavaṁ havir na tu rik saṁstavikī  
 dasatayishu vidyate | atha apy Āgnā-Pauṣṇam havir na tu saṁstavah |  
 tatra etām vīdbhakti-stutim ṛicham udāharanti (R. V. x. 17, 3) 9. "Pūshā  
 tvā itaś chyavayatu pra vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ | sa tvā  
 etebhyaḥ paridadat pitṛibhyo Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ" |  
 "Pūshā tvā itaḥ prachyāvayatu vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ"  
 ity eṣa hi sarveśhām bhūtānām gopūyitū Ādityaḥ | "sa tvā etebhyaḥ  
 pari dadat pitṛibhyaḥ" iti sāmśūyikas tritīyaḥ pādaḥ | Pūshā purastāt  
 tasya anvādeśaḥ ity ekam Agnir upariśṭāt tasya prakṛtanā ity  
 aparam | "Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ" | suvidatraṁ dhanam  
 bhavati vindater vā ekopasargūd dadāter vā syād dvuyopasargāt | 10.  
 Atha etāni Indra-bhaktīny antarikṣha-loko mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ  
 grīṣmas trishṭup panchadaśa-stomo bṛihat-sāmā ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ  
 samāmnātāḥ madhyame sthāne yāścha strīyaḥ | atha asya karma rasā-  
 nupradānaṁ Vṛitra-vadhō yā cha kūr cha Jala-kṛtīr Indra-karma eva tat |  
 atha asya saṁstavikāḥ devāḥ Agniḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Pūshā Brihaspatir  
 Brahmanaspatīḥ Parvataḥ Kutso Viśṇur Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro  
 Varuṇena saṁstūyate | Pūshā Rudreṇa cha Somaḥ | Agniṇā cha Pūshā |  
 Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ | 11. Atha etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas  
 tritīya-savanaṁ varshāḥ jagatī saptaśaśa-stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha  
 deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ uttame sthāne yāścha strīyaḥ | atha asya karma  
 rasādānaṁ rasāmbhīś cha rasādāraṇam yach cha kinchit pravalhitam

*Āditya-karma eva tat | Chandra-masā Vāyunā Saṁvatsareṇa iti saṁśatavaḥ |  
 etesho eva sthāna-vyūhesho ritu-śhandaḥ-stoma-prishṭhasya bhakti-śesham  
 anukalpayita | śarad-anuśṭub-ekaviṁśa-stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti prithivy-  
 āyatanāni | hemantaḥ panktis trinava-stomaḥ śākṣaram sāma ity antari-  
 kṣhāyatanāni | śiśiro 'lichhandās trayas-triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma  
 iti dyu-bhaktini |*

4. "We shall now inquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] is offered. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (yājñikāḥ), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men.<sup>155</sup> Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities:<sup>156</sup> for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to what has been said that hymns are sacrificial, and addressed to a god, [it is to be remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1-28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.). But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the multiplicities of natures in the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p. 13); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

<sup>155</sup> Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśaṁsa* is thus defined: *Yena narāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁso mantrāḥ |* "A hymn in which men are eulogized is a *nārāśaṁsa* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yaska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

<sup>156</sup> This is the sense assigned to *grāyo-devatā* by Roth, *Illustrations of Nirukta*, p. 102, see note 1 there: but may not the word mean a being who has something of the character of a god?

5. "There are three deities according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra,<sup>167</sup> whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi*, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by *Parjanya*, and by *Vāyu*, and *Āditya*, and of the rest of the world by [*Vāyu*, *Āditya*, and] *Agni*. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons).

6. "We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. Thus R. V. vi. 47, 8: 'Huge, O Indra, are the arms of thee who art strong'; iii. 30, 5, 'when thou didst grasp the two worlds, they were but as a handful to thee.' They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of material objects such as those belonging to men. Thus it is said, R. V. ii. 18, 4, 'Come, Indra, with thy two tawny steeds'; iii. 53, 6, 'A handsome wife and pleasure are in thy house.' And further, they are celebrated with functions of a singular character to the human. Thus R. V. x. 116, 2, 'Eat, O Indra, and drink from the bowl;' R. V. i. 10, 9, 'Thou whose ears hear us, listen to our invocation.'

7. "Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are

<sup>167</sup> Compare Taitt. Sanh., vi. 6, 8, 3: *Indra-Vāyū hi sayujau* | "For Indra and Vāyū are closely united.

praised as intelligent beings,<sup>128</sup>—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.). Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'They cry with their ruddy mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of material objects such as those possessed by men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'The Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'Even before the priests they have eaten food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.<sup>129</sup>

8. "It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their provinces. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's domain: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatrī metre, the trivṛt stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṇṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnāyī, Pṛithivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no Ṛich which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in

<sup>128</sup> The commentator Durga (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, *Illust. of Nir.* p. 104) refers this observation to the *Mahābhārata*, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to ask aid from Vāsudeva and Arjuna respecting the Khāṇḍava wood, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question. See Williams's *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 101; and the *Vanaparvan*, verses 8079 ff.

common, but no conjoint laudation. Here the following verse containing separate praise [of these two gods] is quoted, viz. R. V. x. 17, 3: 9. 'May Pūshan, the wise, the preserver of the world, he who loses none of his cattle, convey thee away hence: may he deliver thee to those fathers; and may Agni [entrust thee] to the gracious gods.' The words, 'May Pūshan, the wise, etc.,' refer to the Sun, who is the protector of all creatures. The sense of the third quarter of the verse beginning, 'May he deliver thee, etc.,' is dubious: on the one hand it may be a repetition of the reference to Pūshan, who had been named before; <sup>100</sup> or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. *Suvidatra* (from which *suvidatryebhyaḥ* in the fourth clause, "May Agni," etc., comes) means 'wealth,' and is either derived from *vid*, 'to find,' with one preposition (*su*), or from *dā*, 'to give,' with two prepositions (*su* and *vr*).

10. "The following are the objects connected with Indra's domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishṭubh metre, the panchadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛitra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛhaspati, Brahmanaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. "The following are the objects connected with Āditya's (the Sun's) domain: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the jagati metre, the saptaśaśa stoma, the vairūpa sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (Vāyu), and the Year.

"[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and prishṭhas (particular sāma formulas) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, the anuṣṭubh metre, the ekaviṃśa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the ati-

<sup>100</sup> I have translated the clause as referring to Pūshan.

chhandas metre, the trayāstrīṇśa stoma, and the raivata sāma, are connected with the celestial sphere."<sup>140</sup>

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishṇu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped along with Soma. If we may judge from his silence regarding it, the conjunction of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (trimūrti) would appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the trimūrti of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, be objected to this view, that if Yāska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we may perhaps conclude, either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Bṛihaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f. :

Bṛihaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta [sya bha] vyasya jangama-sthāvarasya cha | asyaiske sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayaṁ viduḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajāpatiḥ | yad aksharam cha vāchyam (?) cha yathaiḥ Brahma sūśvatam | kṛitvaisha hi tridhā "lmānam eshu lokeshu tiśṭhati |* Ibid. i. 14 . . . *tisraḥ eva devatāḥ | etāsāṁ eva mātṛmyād nāmūnyatvaṁ vidhiyate | tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatṛsha dṛśiyate |* i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe], present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of non-entity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like

<sup>140</sup> The above passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 101 ff.



the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

From the passage cited above (p. 30 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Viṣṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Viṣṇu is only once mentioned<sup>141</sup> by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

*Manasindum diśaḥ śrotre krānte Viṣṇum bale Haram | vāchy Agnim Mitram utsarge prajane cha Prajāpatiṁ |* "[Ho may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping Viṣṇu, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati." Viṣṇu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 33) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 118 ff.) where Viṣṇu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Rāmāyaṇa also, where Viṣṇu is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, and other portions of the Rāmāyaṇa itself (unless we suppose these to be later interpolations), or identified with the supreme deity, as in these first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's

<sup>141</sup> Lassen, Ind. Ant., 1st ed., i. 777, note; or 2nd ed., p. 918.

edition;=i. 15, 1 ff., Bombay edition, and i. 14, 1 ff. of Gorresio's edition) :

Rāmāyana, i. 14, 1 ff.—*Medhāvī tu tato dhyātvā sa kinchid idam uttaram | labdha-sañjnas*<sup>162</sup> *tatas tañ tu veda-jno nripam abravīt | 2 | ishñīm te 'nyām*<sup>163</sup> *karishyāmi putriyām putra-kāraṇāt | atharvasirasi proktair mantrairīd dhāṁ vidhānataḥ | 3 |*<sup>164</sup> *tataḥ prachakrame kartum ishñīm kāma-samriddhaye | tasya rājno hitānveshī Vibhāṇḍaka-suto vaśī | 4 | tatra devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāścha munibhiḥ saha | bhāga-pratigrahārthañ vai pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ | 5 | Brahmā suresvaraḥ Sthānuḥ tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | Indras cha bhagavān sākṣhād Maruḍ-ḡaṇa-vritas tathā | 6 | āsvamedhe mahāyājne rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ | tatra bhāgarthino devān āgatān so 'bhyayāchata | 7 | ayañ rājā Daśarathaḥ putrārthī taptavāñs tapaḥ | ishñāvān āsvamedhena bhavataḥ śraddhaya 'nvaitaḥ | 8 | ishñīm cha putrakāmo 'nyām punaḥ kartum samudyataḥ | tad asya putra-kāmayā prasādañ kartum arhataḥ | 9 | abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān asyūrthe 'hañ kṛitāñjaliḥ | bhavayur asya chatvāraḥ putrās trailokya-viśrutāḥ | 10 | te tathety abruvan devāḥ rishi-putrañ kṛitāñjalim | mūnaniyo 'si no vipra rājā chaiva viśeshataḥ | 11 | prapṣyato paramañ kāmam etayeshṭyā narādhipaḥ | ity uktvā*

<sup>162</sup> *Labdha-sañjnas samādhy-utthitaḥ* | Comm. in Bombay ed.

<sup>163</sup> Bombay ed. reads *te 'ham* for *te 'nyām*.

<sup>164</sup> The Bomb. ed. here reads 3. *Tataḥ prākramād ishñīm tām putriyām putra-kāraṇāt | juhāv agnas cha tejasvī mantra-dṛishṭena karmāñ | 4 | tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha paramarshayaḥ | dhāva- [qu. dhāga] pratigrahārthañ vai samavetaḥ yathāvidhiḥ | 5 | tāḥ sametya yathāñyūyāñ tasmīn sadasi devatāḥ | abruvan loka-kartāram Brahmāñ vachanañ tataḥ | 6 | Bhagavāñs tvat-prasādēna Rāvaṇo nima rākṣasaḥ | sarvān no bādhati vīryāt dūṣitūñ tañ na śaknumaḥ |* "He then began that sacrifice for the sake of obtaining a son; and the glorious (rishi) cast an oblation into the fire, accompanied by the prescribed recitation of texts. 4. Then the gods, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and great Rishis were gathered together in due form to receive their portion. 5. Having duly assembled in that abode, the deities spake thus to Brahmā, the creator of the world. 6. 'Lord, owing to thy favour a Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa distresses us all by his power, and we cannot subdue him.'" What follows corresponds in the main with the readings of Schlegel's text.

This text, it will be noticed, differs in several points from Schlegel's [and from Gorresio's] in (a) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the āsvamedha; (b) in not naming Brahmā, Sthānu (Mahādeva), and Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) as being of the number; or (c) as having been supplicated by the rishi on behalf of king Daśaratha; and (d) in proceeding at once to represent the gods as invoking Brahmā's aid, as the other two texts do further on. The Bombay text may be the most original, and the verses there omitted may be later additions, as they do not fit in very well into the sequel. Compare note 168 below. This, however, would not prove that the whole section was not a prior interpolation. See further on.

'ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ Śakra-purogamāḥ | 12 | tāḥ sametya yathānyāyāṃ  
 tasmin sadasi devatāḥ | abruvan loka-kortāram Brahmāṇaṃ vacchaṇaṃ  
 tataḥ | 13 | tvat-pradiṣṭa-varo Brahman Rāvaṇo nāma rākṣasaḥ |  
 sarvaṇ no bādḥate darpād maharṣiṃś cha tapo-ratān | 14 | tvayā hy asya  
 varo dattaḥ prītena bhāgavan purā | deva-dānava-yakṣhāṇāṃ abadyo 'siti  
 kāmataḥ | 15 | mānayantaścha te vākyaṃ sarvaṃ asya sakāmaḥ | sa  
 bādḥayati lokāṃś trīṇ vihiṃsan rākṣasaśvaraḥ | . . . 19. Tad mahad  
 no bhayaṃ tasmād rākṣasād ghora-darśanāt | bādḥārthaṃ tasya bhagavann  
 upāyaṃ kartum arhasi | evaṃ uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiḥ chintayitvā tato  
 'bravīt | hantāyaṃ vihitas tasya badhopāyo dūrātmanaḥ | tena "gandh-  
 arva-yakṣhāṇāṃ deva-dānava-rākṣasāṃ | abadhyāḥ syām" iti proktaṃ  
 tathety uktaṃ cha tad mayā | avajñāya tu tad rakṣho manuṣhān nāva-  
 kiṃtayat | tasmāt sa mūnushād badhyo mṛityur nānyo 'sya vidyate | etach  
 chhṛutvā priyaṃ vākyaṃ Brahmaṇā samudāhṛitam | devūḥ Śakra-purogāḥ  
 te harehitāḥ sarvato 'bhavaṇ | etasminn antare Viṣṇur upayāto mahā-  
 dyutiḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-pāṇiḥ pita-vāsūḥ jagat-patiḥ | Vainateyaṃ  
 samāruhya bhāskaras toyadaṃ yathā | tapta-haṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ  
 surottamaiḥ | tam abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhisṅṭutya sannatāḥ |  
 ārtūnāṃ asi lokānāṃ ārti-hā Madhusūdana | yāchāmaḥ 'tas tvām  
 ārtāḥ śaraṇaṃ no bhavāchyuta | brūta kiṃ karavaṇīti Viṣṇus tām  
 abravīt vacchaḥ | iti tasya vacchaḥ śrutvā punar ūchur idāṃ surāḥ | rūjā  
 Daśaratho nāma taptavān sumahat tapah | iṣṭavāṃś chāśvamedhena  
 prajā-kāmaḥ sa chāprajāḥ | asman-niyogāt tvām Viṣṇo tasya putratvaṃ  
 āpnuhi | tasya bhāryāsu tiṣṭishu Hri-Sri-Kīrti-upamāsu cha | Viṣṇo  
 putratvaṃ āgachha kṛtvā "tmāṇāṃ chaturvidham | tatra tvām mānuṣho  
 bhūtvā pravṛiddhaṃ lokakaṇṭakam | abadhyāṃ daivatair Viṣṇo samare  
 jahi Rāvaṇam | . . . . 34. Tvaṃ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveṣhāṃ naḥ  
 parantapa | badhāya devasatruṇāṃ nṛṇāṃ loke manaḥ kuru | sa niyuktas  
 tathā devaiḥ sākṣhād Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | tūn uvācha ityādi |

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on this answer, having regained his consciousness [which had been suspended during his state of meditation], said to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śīras, to obtain for thee a son.' The self-subdued son of Vibhāṇḍaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come

thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthāyu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa<sup>166</sup> (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Rishyasṛinga thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and inspired with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. "Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son [standing] with joined hands, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman,' art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. 'The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Sakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode,<sup>166</sup> these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, O Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, O lord, a boon was formerly granted to him freely by thee when well-pleased, viz. 'Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yakshas.' Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākshasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākshasa of horrible aspect.

<sup>166</sup> Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

<sup>166</sup> This verse does not combine well with what precedes. See the last note but one (164). Why should the gods disappear in order to reassemble, so far as appears, in the same place (*tasmin sadasi*)? See the text of the Bombay ed., as quoted in note 164, verses 4 and 5. Gorresio's edition connects the disappearance and reappearance of the gods thus, i. 14, 11b ff.: *ity uktvā 'ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ Sakra-purogamāḥ* | 12 | *tāṁ dṛiṣṭvā vidhvān dīkṣhāṁ kriyamāṇām mahāshinā* | *upetya lokakartāram Prajāpatim idāṁ vacaḥ* | 13 | *ūchuḥ prāṇjalayo bhūtvā Brahmāṇaṁ varadaṁ tatha* | 11b: "Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Sakra, vanished thence. 12. Beholding that initiatory ceremony being duly performed by the great rishi, they approached with joined hands the lord of creatures, the boon-bestowing Brahmā, and spoke as follows," etc. It may also be noticed that Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) is mentioned both in Schlegel's ed. and in Gorresio's (v. 4) as having been one of the gods who were present. If the gods who reappeared were the same as those who disappeared, why was not he among them? But he is said to have arrived afterwards.

Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. 'Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yakshas, gods, Dānaṡas and Rākhasas;' such was his request, to which I replied, 'Be it so.' But despising men, the Rākhasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Śakra, were altogether delighted. In the mean time the glorious Viṣṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, distressed, beseech thee be our refuge, O Achyuta (Unfalling).' Viṣṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Viṣṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hri, Śrī, and Kīrti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvaṇa, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tvatto hi nānyas tam pāpaṁ śakto hantuṁ divaukasām*). Viṣṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*devēśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*trīdaśa-pungava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskṛita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Viṣṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings

of a later age. But it is not certain that any portion of this passage formed part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from Lassen's "*Indian Antiquities*," (vol. i. p. 488, 1st edition; i. 586, 2nd edition), in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* :

"It is true that in the Epic poems *Rāma* and *Krishna* appear as incarnations of *Vishṇu*, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of *Vishṇu*. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress." <sup>167</sup>

In p. 489 (1st edition, p. 587 2nd edition) note, he remarks more

<sup>167</sup> In the Preface to his *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. ix., 4to. ed. (=p. xv. of Dr. Hall's ed.), Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor : "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where *Rāma*, although an incarnation of *Vishṇu*, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the *Mahābhārata* in respect to *Krishna*, especially in the philosophical episode known as the *Bhagavad Gītā*. In other places the divine nature of *Krishna* is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The *Mahābhārata*, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his *Mānava Kalpa Sūtra*, p. xxxi. "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the *Mahābhārata*, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."

particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, (Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the four sons of Daśaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close, when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Viṣṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Viṣṇu."

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyaṇa seems to confirm the opinion of Lassen that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Viṣṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice, a rite of great importance and dignity, was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a "putriyā ishti," for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff. (=Bombay ed. i. 8, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 8, 1).—*Tasya te evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanah | sūtārtham tapyamānasya nāsīd vaṁśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhīr utpanneyam mahā-mateḥ | sūtārtham vāji-medhena kimarthaṁ na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matiṁ kṛtvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ |* "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerities for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in sect. 11, 1 (=Bombay ed. i. 12, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 11, 1), it is said: *Atha kālē vyatikrānte śiśire tadānantaram | vasanta-samaye*

*prāpte rājā yashṭum manā dadhe | tataḥ prasādyā śirasā taṁ vipraṁ  
deva-varchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai |*  
“Then, when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race.”

Then, after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvālī, Vasishṭha, etc., he says to them (v. 8=v. 8b Bomb. ed.; v. 11, Gorr.): *Mama tātapyamānasya putrārthaṁ nāsti vai sukham | tad ahaṁ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthaṁ yashṭum icchāmi haya-pūrveṇa karmaṇā |* “I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerities for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim.”

We are again told (v. 20):

*Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnir narendro hṛidayangamaḥ | uvācha dīkṣhām  
viśata yakṣhye 'haṁ suta-kāraṇāt |* “Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, ‘Enter upon a course of consecration; I am about to sacrifice for a son.’”

And at the beginning of the 12th section (=Bomb. ed. 13th; Gorr. 12th) it is said: *Punaḥ prāpte vasanto tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat | prasavārtham gato yashṭum hayamedhena vīryavān |* “Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring.”

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kausālya, “through desire of a son,” remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36 [=Bomb. ed. i. 14, 34; Gorr. i. 12, 34]: *Patatrinā tadā sūrdhham sushṭhitena cha chetasā | avasāḥ rajanīm ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37).<sup>103</sup>

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff. (=Bomb. ed. 14, 58b; Gorr. 13, 45).

<sup>103</sup> See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vājasaneyi Saṁhita, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyāyana Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645. On the word *patatrin*, “winged,” applied to the horse, the commentator in the Bombay ed., *in loco*, remarks: *Purā atvānām pakṣhāḥ santi iti prasiddhyā evaṁvādāt | patatrinā garuḍa-vegena ity anye |* “This is said because it is well known that horses formerly had wings. Others say the meaning of the word is, ‘having the speed of Garuḍa’ (the fabled bird).”



*Dakṣiṇāḥ parigrīhyātha supṛita-mānasā iva | acur Daśaratham tatra kāmam dhyāyoti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Rishyaśringam rājā Daśarathas tadā | kulasya vordhanam tat tu kartum arhasi svrata | tathotsa cha rājānam uvācha dvija-sattamaḥ | bhaviṣhyanti sūtā rājāṁś chatvāras te kulodvahaḥ |* "Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, 'Think of the object you desire.' The king then said to Rishyaśringa, 'Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.' The most excellent of Brahmans replied, 'So be it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.'"

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted (p. 165), that Rishyaśringa, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-sīras, in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had previously come to the aśvamedha sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Rishyaśringa now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 (=Bombay ed. 15, 31 ff. and 16; Gorr. 15) we are told that Viṣṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prajāpatyaṁ naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Viṣṇu then, after receiving the king's homage, disappears.

Daśaratha gives the half of the potion to Kauśalyā, and a fourth each to Sumitrā and Kaikeyī. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Gorresio, 20) begins thus: *Putratvaṃ tu gate Viṣṇau rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ | uvācā devān āhaya Svayambhūr bhagavān idam* | "When Viṣṇu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhū (Brahmā) summoned the gods, and said to them." These words must either be said by way of anticipation, for the birth of Daśaratha's sons is not related till we come to section 19; or the section must be misplaced, or interpolated. The commentator in the Bombay ed. explains *gate* by *gantum upakrānte*, "had begun to enter." In Gorresio's ed. this section is placed as the 20th. The section proceeds to describe the creation of the monkeys, who were to be the allies of Rāma.

The conclusion of the aśvamedha sacrifice and the departure of the gods are again alluded to at the commencement of sect. 17 (Schlegel's ed.) in these words: 1. *Samāpte tu kratau tasmin vājimedhe mahātmanaḥ | havirbhāgān avāpyeṣṭūn jagmur devāḥ yathāgatam* | 2 | *ṛishayaś cha mahātmanaḥ pratijagmuḥ supūjitāḥ | rājanaś chaiva ye tatra kratāv āsan samāgatāḥ* | 1. "When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had been completed, the gods, having received the desired shares of the oblations, departed as they had come. 2. The great rishis, too, after being duly honoured, and the kings who had come to the sacrifice, returned." Here we have another indication that the sections intervening between the 13th and the 17th form a later interpolation. With the commencement of this 17th section of Schlegel's ed., the opening verses of Gorresio's 16th section, and of the 18th section of the Bombay ed., coincide. The last-mentioned recension, however, from which I proceed to quote some verses, touches very briefly on the dismissal of the kings who had come to the sacrifice, and of Rishyaśringa, and proceeds to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, whilst the other two texts enlarge on the former topics, and do not arrive at the last subject before their 19th section. Sect. 18 of the Bombay ed. begins thus:

1 | *Nivṛitte tu kratau tasmin hayamedhe mahātmanaḥ | pratigrihyāmarāḥ bhāgān pratijagmur yathāgatam* | 2 | *samāpta-ākṣhā-niyamaḥ patni-gaṇa-samanvitaḥ | praviveśa purīm rājā sa-bhṛitya-bala-vāhanaḥ* |

3 | *yathārham pūjitāḥ tena rājñā cha prithivīgarāḥ* | *muditāḥ prayayur*  
*deśān prañamya muni-pungavam* | 4 | *śrīmatām gachhatām teshām eva-*  
*grihāni purāt tataḥ* | *balāni rājñāṁ śubhrāni prahrīṣhṭāni chakāśire* | 5 |  
*gateshu prithivīśeshu rājñā Daśarathaḥ punaḥ* | *praviveśa purīm śrīmān*  
*puraskṛitya dvijottamān* | 6 | *Sāntayā prayayau sārḍham Rishyaśringaḥ*  
*supūjitaḥ* | *anugamyamāno rājñā cha sūnuyātreṇa dhimatā* | 7 | *Evaṁ*  
*viśṛjya tām sarvān rājā sampūrṇa-mānasaḥ* | *uvāsa sukhitas tatra*  
*putrotpattiṁ vicintayan* | 8 | *tato yajne samāpto tu ṛitūnām śhaṭ*  
*samatyayuh* | *tataś cha dvādāśe māse ityādi* | 1. "When that horse-  
sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals,  
after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. 2. The  
ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives,  
servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 3. The princes,  
too, after being duly honoured by the king, and having made  
obeisance to the most excellent muni, departed with joy to their  
several countries. 4. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they  
set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted.  
5. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city,  
preceded by the Brahmans. 6. Rishyaśringa, receiving homage,  
set out with (his wife) Sāntā, followed by the wise king and his  
attendants. 7. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with  
satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons.  
8. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed;  
and in the twelfth month," etc. [The sequel of this passage, to-  
gether with the parallel verses of Gorresio's edition, will be found  
in the Appendix.]

Schlegel's ed., as I have already noticed, does not reach the same  
point of the narrative till its 19th section, which begins by relating  
the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of  
the sacrifice, by which no doubt the horse sacrifice is intended (*tato*  
*yajne samāpto tu ṛitūnām śhaṭ samatyayuh* | *tataścha dvādāśe māse*  
*ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences  
under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . *Jagannāthaḥ*  
*sarva-loka-namaskṛitam* | *Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakṣhaṇa-*  
*saṁyutam* | *Kauśalyā śubhke tena putrenāmita-tejasā* | *yathā 'dhipena*  
*devānām Aditir Vajrapāṇinā* | [*\*bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṇasya*  
*badhāya cha* | *Vishṇor viryārdhato yajne Rāmo rājīva-lochanah* | *Bharato*

*nāma Kaikeyāṁ jajne satyaṁ parākramaḥ | sakṣad Viṣṇoś caturbhāgaḥ  
sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | atha Lakṣmaṇa-Satrughṇau Sumitrā 'janayat  
sutau | dṛiḍha-bhakti mahotsāḥau Viṣṇor ardha-samanvitau | ] pushye  
jātas tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | śarpe jātau tu Sumitrī  
kulīre 'bhyadite ravau |*

"Kauśalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kauśalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [\*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Viṣṇu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvaṇa. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Viṣṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakṣmaṇa and Satrugṇa, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Viṣṇu.] Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion), under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel and Lassen that the 14th, 15th, and 16th sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Viṣṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Satrugṇa, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And, in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Viṣṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

The following is a summary of the episode of the apparition of Paraśurāma referred to above by Prof. Lassen in p. 170. When King Daśaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Janaka, the King of Mithilā, whose daughter Sitā had just been married to

Rāma (Rāmāyaṇa, Schleg. i. 74=Bombay Ed. i. 74, and Gorresio's ed. i. 76), he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds uttered by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishṭha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Paraśurāma, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (in section 75), that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka (Rām. i. 67), and had brought another which he asked Rāma to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Paraśurāma) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Daśaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Paraśurāma, but the latter again addresses Rāma, and says that the bow he had broken was Siva's, but the one he himself had now brought was Viṣṇu's. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Viṣṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

*Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prichhanti sma Pitāmahaṁ | Sītikanṭhasya Viṣṇoḥ cha balābala-nirikṣhayā | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijnāya devatānām Pitāmahaḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tayoh satyavatām varāḥ | virodhe tu mahad yuddham abhavad roma-harṣaṇam | Sītikanṭhasya Viṣṇoḥ cha paraspara-jayaishinoḥ | tadā tu jṛmbhitam saivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hunkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samūgamyu sarṣhi-saṅghaiḥ sa-chārāṇaiḥ | yāchitau prāsamaṁ tatra jagmatuḥ tau surottamau | jṛmbhitam tad dhanur dṛṣṭvā saivaṁ Viṣṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Viṣṇuṁ devāḥ sarṣhi-gaṇās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu sankrūddho Vīdeheshu mahāyasaḥ | Devarātasya rājarsheḥ dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idaṁ tu Vaiṣṇavaṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-puranjayam | Rīchiko Bhārgavo prādūd Viṣṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam |* "The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sītikanṭha (Mahādeva) and Viṣṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sītikanṭha and Viṣṇu, each of whom was eager to

conquer the other. Siva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the prowess of Viṣṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Viṣṇu to be superior.<sup>169</sup> Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Viṣṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Viṣṇu gave this excellent deposit to Rīchika, the descendant of Bhrigu." From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma. After referring to his father's murder by Arjuna,<sup>170</sup> and his own subsequent history, Paraśurāma repeats that he had heard of Rāma's prowess in breaking the other bow, and again asks him to bend Viṣṇu's; and in the event of his succeeding, again offers to fight him. Rāma replies (section 76) that though his warlike qualities are contemned by his rival, he will give him a proof of his powers. He then snatches, in anger, the bow from the hand of Paraśurāma, bends it, fits an arrow on the string; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brāhman, and for the sake of his kinsman Viśvāmitra; but will either destroy his superhuman capacity of movement, or deprive him of the blessed abodes he has acquired by austerity. The gods now arrive to be witnesses of the scene. Paraśurāma becomes disheartened and powerless, and humbly entreats that he may not be deprived of his faculty of movement (lest he should be incapacitated from fulfilling his promise to Kaśyapa to leave the earth every night), but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed. He then goes on, v. 17 (Schlegel's and Bombay editions=sect. 77, 49 ff. of Gorresio): *Akshayaṃ Madhukantāraṃ jñāmi tvāṃ mahēśvaram (or sureśvaram) | dhanuṣo 'sya parāmarśāt vvasi te 'stu parantapa | 18 | ete sura-gaṇāḥ sarve nirīkṣante samāgatāḥ | tvāṃ apratima-karmāṇaṃ apratidvandvaṃ āhava | 19 | na cheyam mama Kākutsaḥ vrīḍa bhavitum arhati | tvayā trailokya-nāthena yad ahaṃ vimukhikṛtāḥ | 17.* "By the bending of

<sup>169</sup> The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: *Vastutas tu prakṛita-yuddhe Viṣṇor ādhikya-darśanāt Tripura-badhe Sivasya ādhikya-darśanāt tayoḥ sāmya-grahanam iti tūtparyam* | "In reality, as we find that Viṣṇu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst Siva is stronger in the slaughter of Tripura, the result is that their equality must be assumed."

<sup>170</sup> See the first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 449 ff.

this bow I recognize thee to be the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the great Lord (or lord of the Gods): hail, vanquisher of thy foes! 18. All these assembled gods behold thee who art unequalled in action, unrivalled in fight. 19. It need be no cause of shame to me that I have been humbled by thee who art the lord of the three worlds." Rāma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Paraśurāma's abodes.

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishṇu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff. 4to. ed.—pp. 114 ff. vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.), the Harivaṃśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishṇu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, which I now proceed to quote from the text of the edition published some years ago at Bombay, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Bombay text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge, from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding portion of the poem it had been related that Sitā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvaṇa, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, sect. 119, 1 ff.—*Tato hi durmanāḥ Rāmaḥ śrūtvavaim vadatām girāḥ | dadhyau muhūrtaṁ dharmātmā vāṣṭpa-vyākula-lochanaḥ | tato Vaiśravaṇo rāja Yamaś cha pitṛibhiḥ saha | Sahasrākṣhaś cha deveśo Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | śhaḍ-ardha-nayanaḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vṛiṣha-dvajaḥ | kartā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidām varaḥ |* [<sup>171</sup> *sa cha rāja Daśaratho vimānenāntarikṣha-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ deśaṁ deva-rāja-sama-dyutiḥ |* ] *ete sarve samāgamyā vimānaiḥ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamyā nagarīm Lankām abhijagmuś cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharāṇāṁ pragrihya vipulān dhūjān | abruvaṇ tridāśa-śreṣṭhāḥ Rāghavam prāṇjalīm*

<sup>171</sup> This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.

*sthitam | kartā sarvasya lokasya bṛeṣṭhō jñānavidaṁ vībhuh | upekshase  
 katham Sītām patantim havyavāhane | katham deva-gaṇa-bṛeṣṭham  
 ātmānam nāvabudhyase | Rīta-dhāmā Vasuḥ pūrvaṁ Vasūnām cha  
 Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayānām hi lokānām ādikartā vrayam prabhuh |  
 Rudrānām aśtamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānām api panchamaḥ | Aśvinau chāpi te  
 karṇau chandrādityau cha chakshuḥ<sup>178</sup> | ante chādau cha bhūtānām dṛiṣyase  
 tvam purantapa | upekshase cha Vaidehīm mānuṣaḥ prākṛito yathā | ity uktō  
 lokapūlais taiḥ svāmī lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridāsa-bṛeṣṭhān Rāmo  
 dharma-bhṛitām varaḥ | ātmānam mānuṣham manye Rāmaṁ Dāsathāt-  
 majam | so'haṁ yaścha yataś chāhaṁ bhagavāms tad bravītu me | iti bruvā-  
 nām Kākutethaṁ Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | abravīt śṛiṇu me vākyaṁ  
 satyaṁ satya-parākramaḥ | bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śrīmāns chakrāyudhaḥ  
 prabhuh | eka-śṛiṅgo varāhas tvambhūta-bhṛgya-sapatna-jit | akesharam Brahma  
 satyaṁ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghava | lokānām tvam paro dharmo  
 Vishvaksenaś chaturbhujah | Sārṅga-dhantā Hṛishikēṣaḥ puruṣaḥ puru-  
 shottamaḥ | ajitāḥ khadga-dhṛig Vishnuḥ Kṛishṇaś chaiva vṛihadbalaḥ |  
 Senānir grāmaṇiḥ satyas tvam buddhiś tvaṁ kahamā damaḥ | prabhavaś  
 chūpyayaś cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras  
 tvam padmanūbho raṇānta-kṛit | śaranyāṁ śaraṇam cha tvām dhur dvyāḥ  
 maharshayaḥ | sahasra-śṛiṅgo vedōtmā śata-śiṛshāḥ maharshabhaḥ | tvaṁ  
 trayānām hi lokānām ādi-kartā vrayam prabhuh | siddhānām api sād-  
 hyānām āstrayaś chāsi pūrvaḥ | tvaṁ yajnas tvaṁ vashaṭkāras tvam  
 omkāraḥ parāt paraḥ | prabhavaṁ nidhanaṁ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān  
 iti | dṛiṣyase sarva-bhūteshu brāhmaṇeshu cha goṣhu cha | dīkṣhu sarvāsu  
 gagane parvateshu nadīshu cha | sahasra-charanaḥ śrīmān śata-śiṛshāḥ  
 sahasra-dṛik | tvaṁ dhārayasi bhūtāni vasudhām cha sa-parvatām | ante  
 prithivyāḥ salile drīṣyase tvam mahoragaḥ | trin lokān dhārayan Rāma  
 deva-gandharva-dānavān | ahaṁ te hṛidayāṁ Rāma jihvā devī Sarasvatī |  
 devāḥ romāṇi gātreshu Brahmaṇā nirmitāḥ prabho | nimeshas te smṛitā  
 rātrir unmesho divasas tathā | saṁskārās te 'bhavan vedūḥ naitad asti  
 tvayā vīdā | jagat sarvaṁ śurīraṁ te sthairyāṁ te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ  
 kopāḥ prasādas te Somaḥ śrīvatsalakṣhaṇa | tvayā lokās trayah krāntāḥ  
 purā svair vikramais tribhiḥ | Mahendras cha kṛito rājā Balim baaddhō  
 suddṛuṇam | <sup>179</sup> yat paraṁ śrūyate jyotir yat paraṁ śrūyate tamaḥ | yat  
 param paratāś chaiva paramātmēti kathyase | paramākhyam paraṁ yach  
 cha tvam eva parigiyase | sthity-utpatti-vināśānām tvām dhuḥ paramām*

<sup>178</sup> These two verses occur in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.



*gatiṁ | ] Sītā Lakṣmī bhavān Viṣṇur devaḥ Kṛiṣṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ |  
badhārthaṁ Rāvaṇasyeṣa pravaiṣṭo mānuṣhīm tanuṁ ityādi |*

"Then the righteous Rāma, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [\*and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā's throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou wast] formerly the Vasu Rītadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregarded Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,'<sup>173</sup> Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the

<sup>173</sup> In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛiṣṇa is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Attha Brahmānugrahād eva Brahma-vidyānūmukhyasya śruty-ōdī-siddhatayā tad-anūmukhyasya "ātmanāṁ nāvabūdhyaḥ" iti Brahmanāiva kṛitatvāt taj-jijñāsur iva svīyānāṁ svarūpa-bodhanāya Brahmāṇaṁ gurum ejaṇaḥ iva upāsād ity āha "ātmanam" iti |* "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how dost thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, with the view of explaining his nature to his (worshippers), applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, and says, 'I regard myself,' etc."

Veda, replied to Kākutsūtha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Viahvaksena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Sārṅga, Hṛishīkeśa (lord of the senses), Puruṣha (the male), the highest of Puruṣhas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Viṣṇu, and Kṛishṇa<sup>174</sup> of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the oṃkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmins and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.<sup>175</sup> This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee

<sup>174</sup> If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be intended as prophetic. The commentator, both here and further on, makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛishṇas tad-varṇaḥ*).

<sup>175</sup> The commentator explains *saṃskārāḥ* thus: *Saṃskṛiyante bodhyante ebhir lokāḥ iti saṃskārāḥ praṇṛitti-nivṛitti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | "*Saṃskāras* are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.

the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [\*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction.] Sītā is Lakshmī,<sup>176</sup> and thou art Viṣṇu, the divine Kṛiṣṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvaṇa,'” etc.

In the same way as Viṣṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Kṛiṣṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta, Purāṇas, and other Vaiṣṇava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛiṣṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Kṛiṣṇa is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 169) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Kṛiṣṇa, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no super-human power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as Professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Kṛiṣṇa is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his

<sup>176</sup> In regard to Lakshmī and S'ri, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 348 f.

character as the rishi Nāṣyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pāṇḍus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Viṣṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after-times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,<sup>177</sup> and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else :

*Tad ha etad Ghorah Āngirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvācha apipāsaḥ eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "akṣhitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁsitam asi" iti |* "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [i.e. desire], viz. : 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, 'Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath.' "

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text :

*Tad ha etad yajñā-darśanaṁ Ghorō nāmataḥ Āngiraso gotrataḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya śiṣhyāya uktvā uvācha | tad "etat trayam" ityādi vyavahitena sambandhaḥ | sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrutvā apipāsaḥ eva anyābhyo vidyābho babhūva | itthaṁ cha viśiṣṭa iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishṇasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati triḍ-vichheda-karī iti puruṣa-yajña-vidyāṁ stauti | Ghorah Āngirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha | sa evaṁ yathokta-yajña-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ |*

<sup>177</sup> I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Kṛishṇa in any other work.

. . . . *prāṇa-saṁśītam prāṇasya saṁśītaṁ adṛśya tanukṛitāṇcha sukshmaṁ tattvaṁ asi* . . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Āṅgī-rasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connexion of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the Puruṣa-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āṅgī-rasa said after declaring this knowledge to Kṛishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mntter, these three texts; . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśītam* means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtile principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Kṛishṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 1513-1656), in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Kṛishṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Kṛishṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Kṛishṇa then arrive with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pār-vatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) bows down to the earth :

Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsudevas tu taṁ drishṭvā jagāma śirasā khitim | Pārthena saha dharmātmā grīṇan brahma sandatanam | lokādīm viśva-karmāṇam ajam iśānam avyayam | manasaḥ paramām yoniṁ khaṁ vāyūṁ jyotiṣhām nidhim | sraśṭtārāṁ vāridhārāṇām bhuvaścha prakṛitim parām | deva-dānava-yakṣhāṇām mānavānāṇoha sādhanam | yogānāṇcha param brahma triptam brahma-vidām nidhim | charācharasya sraśṭtāram pratihartāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahāt-mānaṁ śakra-sūrya-guṇodayam | vavande taṁ tadā Kṛiṣṇo vāṇ-mano buddhi-karmabhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūkṣhmādhyātma-padaishikṣaḥ | tam ajam kāraṇātmānaṁ jagmatuḥ śaraṇam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jñtvā taṁ sarva-bhūtādim bhūta-dhavya-bhavodbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau drishṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | svasanna-manāḥ Sarvaḥ provācha pṛāhasann iva | āgatāṁ vām nara-śreṣṭhāṁ uttiṣṭhetām gata-klamau | kincha vām iṣitaṁ virau manasaḥ kṣhipram uchyatām | yena kṛyena samprāptau yuṣm tat sādha-yāmi kim | vriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradādāmi vām |*

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛiṣṇa) then, together with the son of Prithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yakshas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, the original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Kṛiṣṇa then revered him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.<sup>178</sup> Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhavā (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtle spiritual abode, attain,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again revered that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa,

<sup>178</sup> In a passage from the S'āntiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, Kṛiṣṇa explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations, and, in fact, one with him. But no hint is given of this here.

arrived, Sarva (Mahādeva), then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling : 'Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all' "

Kṛishṇa and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the "soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things" (*viśvātmāne viśva-erje viśvam āvṛitya tiṣṭhate*). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Satarudriya.<sup>179</sup> Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Kṛishṇa and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāsupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

In the Sautika-parvan, 312 f., Mahādeva, smiling, as it were (*hasann iva*), says to Āśvatthāman : *Satya-sauchārjava-tyūgais tapasā niyamena cha | kṣāntyā matyū cha dhṛityū cha buddhyū cha vacasā tathā |* 313. *Yathāvad aham ārūddhaḥ Kṛishṇeṇākliṣṭa-karmaṇā | tasmād iṣṭatamaḥ Kṛishṇād anyo mama na vidyate |* "I have been duly worshipped by Kṛishṇa, the energetic in action, with truth, purity, honesty, liberality, austerity, ceremonies, patience, wisdom, self-control, understanding and words: wherefore no one is dearer to me than Kṛishṇa." (See Prof. Monier Williams's analysis of this book in his "Indian Epic Poetry," pp. 121 ff.)

In a later part of the same book (vv. 765 ff.) Kṛishṇa thus celebrates the greatness of Mahādeva : *Nūnaṁ sa deva-dēvānām īśvareśvaram avayam | jagāma śaranāṁ Drauṇir ekas tenābaddhā bahūn |* 766 | *prasanno hi Mahādevo dadyād amaratām api | vīryaṁ cha giriśo dadyād yonendram api śatayet |* 767 | *vedākaṁ hi Mahādevaṁ tattvena Bharat-arabhaḥ | yāni chāsya purāṇāni karmāṇi vivīdhāni cha |* 768 | *adīr*

<sup>179</sup> A long hymn from the Yajur-veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.

*esha hi bhūtānām madhyam anīśa cha Bhārata | vicheshṭate jagach chedam sarvam asyaiva karmanā |* 765. "Āśvatthāman resorted to the imperishable lord of lords of the gods of gods as his refuge; and through him he, though but one, slew many. 766. For Mahādeva, if pleased, can bestow even immortality, and prowess whereby any one may overcome even Indra himself. 767. I perfectly know Mahādeva, and his various works of old. 768. For he is the beginning, middle, and end of (all) creatures; and this entire world moves through his agency." See Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," p. 123.

The Anuśāsana-parvan also contains several sections in which the praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Kṛishṇa. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishtīra asks Bhīshma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.) :

*Āsakto 'haṁ guṇān vaktum Mahādevasya dhimataḥ | yo hi sarva-gato devo na cha sarvatra dṛśiyate | Brahma-Viṣṇu-sureśūnām śraśṭā cha prabhur eva cha | Brahmādayaḥ Pīśāchāntāḥ yaṁ hi devāḥ upāsate | prakṛitānām paratvena puruṣasya cha yaḥ paraḥ | chintyate yo yoga-vidbhīr īśibhiḥ tattva-darśibhiḥ | akṣharam paramam Brahma asachcha sad-asachcha yat | prakṛitim puruṣanchaiva kṣobhayitvā eva-tejasā | Brahmānam aśṛjāt tasmād deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ | ko hi śakto guṇān vaktum deva-devasya dhimataḥ | garbha-janma-jarā-yukto martyo mṛityu-saman-vitāḥ | ko hi śakto Bhavaṁ jñātum mad-vidhaḥ Paramesvaram | rite Nūrāyaṇāt putra śankha-chakra-gadā-dharāt | esha vidvān guṇa-śreṣṭhō Viṣṇuḥ parama-durjayaḥ | divya-chakṣhur mahātejāḥ vīkṣyate [vīkṣate?] yoga-chakṣuṣhā | Rudra-bhaktiḥ tu Kṛishṇena jagad vyāptam mahātmanā | tam prasādyā tadā devaṁ Badaryām kilā Bhārata | arthāt<sup>100</sup> priyataratvaṁ cha sarva-lokeshu vai tadā | prāptavān eva rājendra suvarṇākṣhād Mahesvarāt | pūrṇaṁ varṣha-sahasraṁ tu taptavān esha Mādhavaḥ | prasādyā varadāṁ devaṁ charāchhara-gurum Sīvam | yuge yuge tu Kṛishṇena toshito vai Mahesvaraḥ | bhaktiḥ paramayā chaiva prītaschaiva mahātmanaḥ | aīśvaryaṁ yādṛīṣaṁ tasya jagad-yoner mahātmanaḥ | tad ayaṁ dṛīṣṭavān sāksat putrārthē Harir achyutaḥ | tasmāt parataranchaiva nānyam paśyāmi Bhārata | vyākhyātum deva-devasya śakto namāny aśeshataḥ | esha śakto mahābāhur vaktum bhagavato guṇān | vibhūtinchaiva kārtsnyena satyām mahesvarīm nṛipa<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>100</sup> The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Roy. As. Soc reads *annāt*.



"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Viṣṇu,<sup>181</sup> and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Puruṣa), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (*yoga*), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both non-existent, and at once existent and non-existent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyaṇa, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Viṣṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds<sup>182</sup> [him] with the eye of contemplation: Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Kṛishṇa. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Kṛishṇa) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. This Mādhava (Kṛishṇa) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Siva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Kṛishṇa, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Kṛishṇa), [when seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him I behold none higher. This large-armed [Kṛishṇa] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent."

Bhishma then calls upon Kṛishṇa, whom he designates as Viṣṇu,

<sup>181</sup> Professor Aufrecht (Catalogue, p. 54a, note) quotes the following verse from the 56th chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as spoken by Mahādeva: *Ayam me dakṣiṇo bāhur Brahmā loka-pitṛmaharṣi | vāmo bāhuś cha me Viṣṇur nityaṁ yuddheshu nirjitaḥ* | "Brahmā, the parent of the universe, is my right arm, and Viṣṇu is my left arm, always overcomes in battles." Must not the correct reading here be *yuddheshu anirjitaḥ*, "unconquered in battles"?

<sup>182</sup> The printed text reads *vikṣhate*, "is beheld," but the sense seems to require *vikṣhate*, "beholds."

and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (*surāsura-guro deva Viṣṇo*), to celebrate Mahādeva's greatness. Kṛiṣṇa accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

*Na gatiḥ karmanām śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbha-pramukhāḥ devāḥ sēdrāḥ maharshayaḥ | na vidūr yasya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sūkṣma-darsinaḥ | sa kathāṁ nara-mātrena śakyo jñātum satām gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāmśchid bhagavato guṇān | bhavatām kirtayishyāmi vratasāya [vratasāya?] yathātatham |* "The course of the deeds of Īśa (Mahādeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Ādityas, the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies."

Kṛiṣṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys<sup>133</sup> (*kapindra-putrī*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

*Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeshu kinchana | lokān srijes tvam aparān ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varṣhāni vratibhūṭena śuśhyatā | āradhya paśubhartāraṁ Rukmiṇyām janitāḥ sutāḥ |* "For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Kṛiṣṇa). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds.<sup>134</sup> By thee, after twelve years' fasting and mortification,<sup>135</sup> and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmiṇī (another of his wives)."

Kṛiṣṇa promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634-652).<sup>136</sup> Kṛiṣṇa enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

<sup>133</sup> He is, however, called king of the bears in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, p. 427 f. (vol. iv., pp. 76 and 79 of Dr. Hall's ed.)

<sup>134</sup> Compare what is said of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 404.

<sup>135</sup> This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6389. As Kṛiṣṇa is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

<sup>136</sup> One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Kṛidanti sar-*

(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).<sup>197</sup> The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishṇu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

*Hiraṇyakasīpur yo 'bhūd dānava Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmaraiś-  
varyaṃ Sarvāt prāptaṃ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Man-  
daro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāc chakraṃ varahārbudam ayod-  
hayat | Viṣṇoś chakrancha tad ghorāṃ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śirṇam  
purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvaṃ  
dattaṃ chakraṃ tavānagha | jalāntara-charaṃ hatvā dailyancha bala-  
garvitam | utpādituṃ Vṛishāṅkena dīptaṃ jvalana-sannibham | dattam  
bhagavatā tūbhyāṃ durdharshaṃ tejasū 'dbhutam | na śakyaṃ drashtum  
anyena varjayitvā Pinākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktaṃ  
tadā tu tat | Sudarśanaṃ tadā tasya loke nāma pratishṭhitam | taj  
jirṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāṅge  
varadattasya dhimataḥ | na śastrāṇi vahanty ange chakraṃ vajra-śatāny  
api | ardamūnāścha vibudhā Graheṇa subaliyasū | Śiva-datta-varān  
jaghnur asurendrān Surāḥ bhrīṣam |*

"Hiraṇyakasīpu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Viṣṇu and the thunderbolt of Ākhaṇḍala<sup>198</sup> (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced

*pair nakulāḥ mṛigair vyāghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhūvād dīpta-tapasāṃ sannikarohūd  
mahātmanām |* "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents," [the two kinds of creatures being deadly foes], "and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah xi. 6 ff.: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

<sup>197</sup> In v. 655 the appellation *punḍarīkākṣha*, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of *adhokṣhaja*, are applied to Kṛiṣṇa.

<sup>198</sup> This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta, iii. 10: *Ākhaṇḍala pra hūyase* | "O Ākhaṇḍala, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v.

by Mahādeva.<sup>189</sup> Bestowed upon thee by the god, restless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin (the bearer of the bow, i.e. Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*murdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.). In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the following are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, carrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gaps, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,<sup>190</sup> naked, with excited look (v. 752: *kriḍate*

<sup>189</sup> In an account of Kṛiṣṇa's exploits in the Droṇa-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: *Khūṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāsanam | Agneyam astram dūrāharaham chakram lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śankha*) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

<sup>190</sup> Literally, *ingenti membro virili præditus*. Compare Sautika-parvan, v. 289.

*riśhi-kanyābhir riśhi-patnībhir eva cha | ūrdha-keśo mahāśepho nago vikṛita-lochanah |* ). He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.). Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon, however great, at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate in a passage of some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784–829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

*Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair Īśaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śuśrūma yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam muktva Maheśvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvam vā brūhi yady asti to śrutih | yasya Brahmā cha Viśhnus cha tvaṁ chāpi saha daivataih | archayethūḥ sadā lingam tasmāch chhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmāṅkāḥ na cakrāṅkāḥ na vajrāṅkāḥ yataḥ prajāḥ | lingāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmād Maheśvarī prajā | Devyūḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitūḥ sarvūḥ bhagāṅkāḥ striyo lingenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyakṣa-chih-nikṛitāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam īśvarāt pravādate devyā cha yad nāṅkitam trailokyē sacharāchare sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved dūmatih | puṁlingam sarvam Īśanam stri-lingam viddhi chāpy Umām | dvābhyām tanubhyām vyāptam hi charācharam idaṁ jagat |* "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Viśhnu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Viśhnu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the

female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Mahēśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things, movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

The saint is at length gratified by the appearance of Mahādeva himself with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837-841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Vishṇu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869 f.):

*Savya-dese tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyaṁ vimānam āsthāya  
hamsa-yuktam manojavam | vāma-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ  
sthitaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | . . . . .  
875 f. Astuvan vividhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevaṁ surās tadā | Brahmā  
Bhavaṁ tadā 'stauṣhīd rathantaram udīrayan | jyeshṭha-sāmanā cha deve-  
śaṁ jagau Nārāyaṇaś tadā | grīṇan brahma paraṁ Śakraḥ śatarudriyam  
uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikaḥ | āśobhanta  
mahātmānaś trayas trayāḥ ivāgnayaḥ | 869. "On the left (right?) of the  
god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car,  
drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṇa  
(Vishṇu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus and club. . . .  
875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā  
celebrated him, reciting the Rathantara, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the  
god of gods with the Jyeshṭha sāman, and Indra, uttering that most  
eminent prayer, the excellent Satarudriya. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and  
the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kuśika,<sup>101</sup> the three mighty  
deities, shone like the three fires."*

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880-923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu

<sup>101</sup> The epithet of Kuśika is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 f.

sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

*Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-tattvōdir aryaṇaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-jñaḥ pradhāna-puruṣaḥ paraḥ | yo 'srijad dakṣiṇād angād Brahmāṇaṁ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārśvat taṭhā Viṣṇuṁ loka-rakṣārtham Īśvaraḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudraṁ Īśo 'srijat prabhur ity ādi |* "This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Puruṣa (or the principal Puruṣa), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Viṣṇu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*kṣhīraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945 ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Kṛishṇa expresses a desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Kṛishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Kṛishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Kṛishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Viṣṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (*S'atakratūḥ cha bhagavān Viṣṇuḥ ohūditi-nandanah | Brahmā rathantaram sāma irayanti Bhavāntike*). Kṛishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

*Purastād dhiṣṭhitaḥ S'arvo mamāṣit tridāśavarah | purastād dhiṣṭhi-*

*tañ dṛṣṭvā mameśānancha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-Sakrāntaṃ jagad  
mām abhyudaikshata | ikṣitūṃ cha Mahādevaṃ na me śaktir abhāt tadā |  
tato mām abraṇīd devaḥ “paśya Kṛṣṇa vadaṣva cha | tayā [tvayā ?]  
hy ārādhitāś chāhaṃ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | tvā-samo nāsti me kaśchit  
triṣṭu lokeshu vai priyaḥ” | śirasā vandito devo devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat |  
tato 'ham abruvam Sthānuṃ stutam Brahmādhīḥ suraiḥ |* “Before me  
stood Sarva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Īśāna standing before me,  
the world from Prajāpati to Sakra (Indra) gazed upon me. I had no  
power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, ‘Behold,  
Kṛṣṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and  
thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me  
as thou.’ The god having been revered by obeisance, the goddess  
Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthānu (Mahādeva), who had been  
praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods,” etc.

Kṛṣṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002-1018) as the supreme  
Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Vidmaḥ Kṛṣṇa parām bhaktim  
asmāu tava śatruhaṃ | vṛiyatūṃ ātmanaḥ śreyāḥ prītir hi tvayī me parā |  
vṛiṇīṣhvāṣṭau varān Kṛṣṇa dātūsmi tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-  
śārdūla yān icchasi sudurlabhān |* “We know, Kṛṣṇa, slayer of foes,  
thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee,  
for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them  
to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons  
which are most difficult to obtain which thou desirest.” Kṛṣṇa  
then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2)  
the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the  
greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyatvam*),  
(7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—  
all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers  
him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of  
the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4)  
ominent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his  
mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are  
granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose  
affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and  
his spouse then disappear, and Kṛṣṇa relates to Upamanyu all that  
has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story  
about a rishi called Tanḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva,



in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049-1108) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know, vv. 1052 (*Brahmā Satakratur Viṣṇur viśvedevāḥ maharṣayaḥ | na vidus tvāṁ tu tattvena kuto vetsyāmahe vayam*). These words appear to have been especially gratifying to the god (vv. 1105 ff.). Tanḍi had then come to Upamanyu's hermitage, and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Kṛishṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā, was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Tanḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Kṛishṇa :

*Āsubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo yo narāḥ kalushikṛitāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapa-*  
*yante tamo-rājasa-vṛittayaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante dvijāḥ bhāvita-bhā-*  
*vanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno 'pi yo bhaktāḥ parameśvare | sadṛśo 'raṇya-*  
*vāsānām muninām bhāvitātmanām | Brahmaṭvaṁ Keśavatraṁ cha Sakra-*  
*traṁ vā suraiḥ saha | trailokyasyādhipatyam vā tushṭo Rudraḥ pra-*  
*yachhati ityādi |* "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava (Keśava is a name of Kṛishṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7'02 ff., Kṛishṇa relates to Yudhiṣṭhira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Duvṛāsa (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below; see page 204), who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛishṇa's wife Rukmiṇī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛishṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmiṇī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛishṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛishṇa per-

formed an Upāṇśu rite, i.e. muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudhishtīra then says to Kṛishṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): *Durvāsasaḥ prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijnānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyancho yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jñātum icchāmi sarvam matimatām vara | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | Hanta te kīrtayisishyāmi namaskṛitya Kapardine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yaś chārjitaṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad ādhīyo viśāmpate | prānjaliḥ śatarudriyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śṛiṇu | Prajāpatis tat sarjye tapaso 'nte mahātapaḥ | S'ankaras tv asṛjyat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jangamāḥ | nāsti kinohit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishu api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātum kinchid agro mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtaṁ samatṁ tena trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi saugrāme tasya kruddhāya śatravaḥ | viśanjñāḥ hata-bhūyishṭhāḥ vepante cha patanti cha | ghorancho nīnadaṁ tasya Parjanya-nīnadopamam | śrutvā viśīryed hṛidayaṁ devūnām api saṁyuge | yāmīścho ghoreṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kruddhaḥ pināka-dhṛik | na surāḥ nāsuraḥ loko na gandharvāḥ na pannaḡāḥ | kupite sukham edhante tasminn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpates tu Dakṣasya yajato vilate kratau | vivyādha kupito yajnaṁ nīrbbhayaḥ tv abhavat tadā | dhanushā vāṇam utśṛjya saghoṣaṁ vinamāda cha | tena śarma kutāḥ sāntiṁ viśhūdaṁ lebhīre surāḥ | viddho cha sahasā yajno kupite cha Maheśvare | tena jyā-tala-ghoṣeṇa sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babbhūvur avasāḥ Pārtha viśheduḥ cha surāsuraḥ | āpas chukshubhīre chaiva chakampe cha vasundharā | vyadravan giriryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphālā cha sarvaśaḥ | andhena tamasū lokāḥ prāveritāḥ na chakūśīre | pranaśhṭā jyo-tishṭhām bhāś cha saha sāryeṇa Bhārata | bhṛīśam bhītās tataḥ sāntiṁ chakruḥ svastyayanaṁni cha | rīshayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ātmanaḥ cha hitaishigāḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyadravad devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayano kruddhaḥ prahareṇa vyāsātayat | Pushāṇaṁ chabhi-dudrāva pādēna cha rushānvitāḥ | puroḡāśam bhakshayato dasanāmś cha vyaśātayat | tataḥ pranemur devās te vepamānās tu S'ankaram | punaś cha vandaḥ Rudro diptaṁ suniśitaṁ śaram | Rudrasya vikramaṁ drishṭvā bhītāḥ devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmasuḥ sarve te vibudhottamāḥ | jepuś cha śatarudriyaṁ devāḥ kṛtvā 'njaliṁ tadā | samatayamānas tridaśaiḥ prasasāda Maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāḡaṁ yajno cha viśishṭaṁ te tv akalpayan | bhayēna tridaśāḥ rājan śaraṇaṁ cha pre-*

pedire | tena chaiva hi dushkena (tushkena ?) sa yajno sandhito 'bhavat | yad  
 yach ohāpahṛitam tatra tat tathaiva sa jivayat | *Asurāṇām purāṇy āsaṁs*  
*trīṇi vīryavatām divi | āyasaṁ rājataṁ chaiva sauvarṇam api chāparam |*  
*nāśakat tāni Maghavā bhottum sarvāyudhair api | atha sarve Mahārudraṁ*  
*jagmuḥ śaraṇam arditāḥ | tataḥ āchur mahātmāno devāḥ sarve samāgatāḥ |*  
*Rudra raudrāḥ bhaviṣhyanti paśavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jahī daitṛyān saha*  
*purair lokāṁs trāyasa mānada | sa tathoktas tathety uktvā kṛtvā Viś-*  
*ṇuṁ śarottamam | śalyam Agniṁ tathā kṛtvā punkhaṁ Vaiśravaṇam*  
*Yamam | vedān kṛtvā dhanuḥ sarvān jyāṁ cha sāvitṛm uttamām | Brah-*  
*māṇaṁ sārathiṁ kṛtvā viniyujya cha sarvaśaḥ | triparvāṇā trisālyena*  
*kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | śareṇāditya-varṇena kālāgni-sama-tejasā | te 'surāḥ*  
*sa-purāḥ tatra dagdhāḥ Rudreṇa Bhārata | taṁ chaivāṅka-gātāṁ dṛiṣṭvā*  
*bālām pañchasikham punaḥ | Umā jijnāsamānā vai "ko 'yam" ity abravīt*  
*tadā | usūyatas cha Sakrasya vajreṇa prahariṣyataḥ | sa vajraṁ stambha-*  
*yūmāsa tam bāhum pariḥopamam | na sambubudhire chaiva devās tam*  
*bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāpatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatīśvare | tato dhyā-*  
*tvā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitayjasam | ayaṁ śreṣṭhaḥ iti jñātvā*  
*vavande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umāṁ Rudraṁ cha te*  
*surāḥ | babhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāh-*  
*maṇo bhūtvā Duvāsāḥ nāma vīryavān | Dvāravatyām mama pure ohiraṁ*  
*kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayunkto sma subahūn mama veśmani |*  
*tān uddratayā chāhaṁ chakṣhame chāti-duḥsahān | sa vai Rudraḥ sa cha*  
*Sivaḥ so 'gniḥ Sarvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chendras cha Vāyuḥ cha so*  
*'śvinau sa cha Vidyutah | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānaḥ sa Sūryo Varuṇaḥ*  
*cha saḥ | sa kālāḥ so 'ntako mṛityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni cha | māsār-*  
*dha-māsāḥ ṛitavaḥ sandhye saṁvatsarāḥ cha saḥ | sa dhāta sa vidhātā*  
*cha viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit | nakṣatrāṇi grahāḥ chaiva diśo 'tha vidīśas*  
*tathā | viśva-mūrtir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutiḥ | ekadhā cha*  
*dvidhā chaiva bahudhā cha sa eva hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā*  
*śata-sahasraśaḥ | idṛiśaḥ sa Mahādeva bhūmaḥ<sup>100</sup> sa bhagavān ajaḥ | na*  
*hi śakyāḥ guṇāḥ vaktum api varṣa-śatair api | Yudhiṣṭhira mahābāho*  
*mahābhāgyam mahātmanaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmn-*  
*nibodha me | Vadanty Agniṁ Mahādevaṁ tathā Sthānum Maheśvaram |*  
*śkāḁkṣam tryambakaṁ chaiva viśva-rūpaṁ Sivaṁ tatāḥ | doe taṇṇ tasya*

<sup>100</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. bhūman, vol. v., p. 1660, where several passages of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are referred to in which a kindred word, bhūman, is applied as an epithet to Krishna. See also page 347 of the same vol.

*devasya brāhmaṇāḥ vedajñāḥ viduḥ | ghorāṁ anyāṁ śivāṁ anyāṁ to  
tanū bahudhā punaḥ | ugrā ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut sa bhā-  
skarāḥ | śivā saumyā cha yā tv asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāḥ |  
ātmano 'rdhāṁ tu tasyāgniḥ somo 'rdham punar uchyate | brahma-  
charyāṁ charaty ekā śivā yā 'sya tanus tathā | yā 'sya ghoratāmā  
mūrtir jagat saṁharate tadā<sup>192</sup> | śivaratvād mahatvāch cha Mahēśvaraḥ  
iti smṛitaḥ | yad nirdahati yat tīkṣṇo yad ugro yat pratāpavān |  
māṁsasonita-majjādo yat tato Rudraḥ uchyate | devānāṁ sumahān yach  
cha yach chāsya viśayo mahān | yach cha viśvam mahat pāti Mahādevas  
tataḥ smṛitaḥ | dhūmra-rūpaṁ cha yat tasya dhūrjatiḥ ata uchyate |  
samedhayati yad nityaṁ sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ | manushyān śivam  
anvichhaṁsē tasmād eva Śivaḥ smṛitaḥ | ityādi*

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishtīrā says to Kṛishṇa: “Thou oughtest, Madhusūdāna, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of the wise, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the spirally-braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, O king, the Satarudrīya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer<sup>193</sup>] at the end of his austerity. Sankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, O king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity: for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* ‘even by a scent’) incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (i.e. of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor any one whom the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when

<sup>192</sup> With this and the preceding lines compare Dronap., 9632 ff.

<sup>193</sup> It is part of the White Yajur Veda (Yājñaneya Sanhita). See further on, chapter iii., section second. It is not reproduced in the passage before us. Compare vol. iii. of this work, on the mode in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajapati Daksha was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud shout. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Mahēśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and, incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāsa offering.<sup>194</sup> The gods

<sup>194</sup> For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Taittirīya Saṁhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3 f., partially quoted in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 476, note on p. 178, line 6. The entire passage is as follows: *Devāḥ vai yajñād Rudram antar āyan | sa yajnam avidhyat | taṁ devāḥ abhisamagachhanta "kalpatān naḥ idam" iti | te 'bruvan "svishṭaṁ vai naḥ idam bhaviṣyati yad imaṁ rūdhayish-yāmaḥ" iti | tat svishṭakṛitāḥ svishṭakṛitvam | tasya āviddhaṁ nirakṛintan (4) yavena sammitam | tasmād yava-mātram avadyat | yaj jyāyo 'vadyed ropayet tad yajnasya | yad upa cha strīṇyād abhi cha ghārayed ubhayataḥ saṁśvāyi kuryāt | avadāya abhigharayati | dvīḥ sampadyate | dvīpād yajamānaḥ | pratishṭhityai | yat tīraschīnam atihared anabhividdhaṁ yajnasya abhividhyet | agreṇa pariharati tīrthena eva pariharati | tat Pūshne paryaharan tat (5) Pūshā prāśya dato 'runat | tasmāt Pūshā prapishṭa-bhūgaḥ | adantako hi | taṁ devāḥ abruvan "ei vai ayam ārdhi | aprāśitriyo vai ayam abhūd" iti | tad Bṛihaspataye paryaharan | so 'bhīhed Bṛihaspatir "itthaṁ vāsa sya ūrtim āriṣyati" iti | sa etam mantram apāśyat | "The gods excluded Rudra" [in the form of Svishṭakṛit Agni, Comm.] "from the sacrifice. He pierced the sacrifice [with an arrow]. The gods came together to him, [and said.] 'Let this [rite] of ours be [again] rectified.' They [i.e. certain wise gods, according to the Commentator] said, 'If we propitiate him, this [rite] of ours will be well sacrificed (svishṭe).' It is from this that the Svishṭakṛit insures the due performance of the rite." [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the svishṭakṛit is the portion of the sacrifice destined for Agni Svishṭakṛit.] "They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhvaryu priest cut off [the prāśitra portion] only to the extent of a barleycorn. If he cut off more than this, he will break that off from the sacrifice. If he should both spread [ghee] underneath and sprinkle [ghee] above, he would cause the oblation to become swollen on both sides. He is therefore, after cutting off [the prāśitra], only to*

trembling then made obeisance to Śankara, and he again fitted on the string the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with

sprinkle [ghee] above it. To do this twice is proper [for the sacrificer has two feet], in order that it may succeed. If he hands [the brāhman's share] to him across [the altar], he will pierce that part of the sacrifice which is uninjured; whereas if he reaches it to him in front, he does so in the proper direction. They handed that [portion] to Pūshan. Eating it, he broke his teeth. Wherefore Pūshan has a portion of ground meal offered to him; for he is toothless. The gods said of him, 'he has come to grief; he has become unfit for the prāsitra.' They handed it to Bṛhaspati. He was afraid, saying, 'In this way shall one incur misfortune.' He saw this text," etc.

I am indebted to Professor Weber for a German translation of this passage, which has enabled me to correct and improve my own. He remarks that the reason why the prāsitra broke Pūshan's teeth was, that it was 'Rudriya' (see the passage from the Śatap. Br., i. 7, 4, 15 f., adduced at the end of a following quotation), i.e. the portion of the oblation struck by Rudra's shot. This effect of it must be obviated by the use of a text. Professor Weber thinks that *arunak* (followed by *tasmāt*), in the above passage, must stand for *arunak* (though the root *ruj* is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation), and compares Taitt. S., vii. 4, 9, 1, *aspid āvābhyam* for *aerig* (see Ind. Stud., viii. 54, note); Kauś. 39, *nyat for nyak*; *sammad-aynā* for *samyag-ājñā*, Dhammap. verse 57; *sāmṣṛiddhiḥ* from *sāmṣṛip*, Taitt. Br., i. 8, 1, 1; *nadbhyaḥ* from *nay*, R. V., x. 60, 6; *adbhiḥ*, *adbhyaḥ* from *ap*; *sāmyat te*, Taitt. S., i. 2, 7, 1 (compare Weber's Indische Streifen, i. 127, note 5).

The Śatap. Br. i. 7, 4, 5, refers to the same story in the sequel of a passage which has already been given above, p. 45. The continuation is as follows: 5 | *Te ha ūchur* "upajānīta yathā idam na amuyā asat kanyo ha āhuter yathā idam ayā" iti | 6 | *te ha ūchur* "Bhagāya enad dakṣhiṇataḥ āśināya pariharata | tad Bhagaḥ prāśihyati tad yathā āhutam eva bhaviṣhyati" iti | tad Bhagāya dakṣhiṇataḥ āśināya paryājahruḥ | tad Bhago 'vekkhānchakre | tasya akṣhiṇī nirādāha | tathā in nūnam tad āsa | tasmād āhur "andho Bhagaḥ" iti | 7 | *te ha ūchur* "no nv atra āsamat | Pūshne enat pariharata" iti | tat Pūshne paryājahruḥ | tat Pūshā prūṣa | tasya dato nirjaghāna | tathā in nūnam tad āsa | tasmād āhur "adantakuḥ Pūshā" iti | tasmād yam Pūshne charuṁ kurvanti prapishfūnām eva kurevanti yathā adantakuḥ evam | 5 "They said, 'Take care that this may not be lost; but that it may be less than the oblation.' 6. They said, 'Present it to Bhaga, sitting on the right side; he will eat it; that shall be as if it were offered.' They presented it to Bhaga sitting on the right side; he looked at it; it turned his eyes. That truly happened so. Therefore they say, 'Bhaga is blind.' 7. They said, 'Let it not be so tranquilized. Present it to Pūshan.' Pūshan ate it; it knocked out his teeth. That verily so happened. Wherefore they say, 'Pūshan is toothless.' Hence the cooked oblation they present to Pūshan is of ground materials."

In the sequel of this passage it is said, i. 7, 4, 9: *Sa yat prāsitram avadyati yad eva atra āvidhām yajnasya yad Rudriyaṁ tad eva etad nirmimite* (bahiḥ karoti nish-karṣati, Comm.) | "The prāsitra which he cuts off, the part of the sacrifice which was pierced, which is connected with Rudra,—that he separates." And further on, i. 7, 4, 15: *Sat prāśnati* | "Agniś tū āyena prāśnūmi" iti | *na vai Agnīḥ kinchana pīnati* | *tathā u ha enam etad na kināsi* | 16 | *tad na dadbhīḥ khādet* | "na id me idam Rudriyaṁ dato hinased" iti | *tasmād na dadbhīḥ khādet* | 16. "He eats that,

joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Mahēśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as

[saying], 'I eat thee with Agni's mouth.' Nothing destroys Agni. So this does not destroy him. 16. Let no one eat it with his teeth, [thinking], 'Lest this, which is connected with Rudra, destroy my teeth.' Wherefore let no one eat it with his teeth."

The following is a passage from the preceding section of the same Brāhmaṇa: i. 7, 3, 1: *Yajñena vai devāḥ divam upodakrāman | atha yo 'yañ devaḥ paśūnām tēḥṣṭe sa iha ahīyata | tasmād vāstavyaḥ ity āhuḥ | vāstau hi tad ahīyata 2 | sa yena eva devāḥ divam upodakrāmanā tena u eva archantaḥ drūmyantai cheruḥ | atha yo 'yañ devaḥ paśūnām tēḥṣṭe yaḥ iha ahīyata (3) sa aikṣhata "aha asya ha antaryanty u mā yajñād" iti | so 'nūchchakrāma | sa āyatayā uttarataḥ upotpede | sa eṣha eviṣṭakṛitaḥ kālāḥ | 4 | te devāḥ abruvan "mā virakṣhīr" iti | "te vai mā yajñād mū 'ntaryata āhutam me kalpayata" iti | "tathā" iti | sa samabṛihat sa na āsyat sa na kanchana ḥhinat | 5 | te devāḥ abruvan "yāvanti no havīmāhi grīhītāny abhūvan sarviśāṁ teshāṁ hutam upajānīta yathā 'smāi āhutam kalpayāma" iti | 6 | te 'dhvaryum abruvan "yathāpūrvaṁ havīmāsy adhyaghāraya | ekasmai avadānāya pumar āpyāyaya | ayātayāmani kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadānam avadya" iti | 7 | so 'dhvaryur yathāpūrvaṁ havīmāsy adhyaghārayad ekasmai avadānāya pumar āpyāyaya ayātayāmāny akarat tataḥ ekaikam avadānam avādyat | 1. "By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle was excluded here. Hence men call him Vāstavya; for he was excluded [by remaining] on the sacrificial ground (vāstu). 2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with that whereby they had ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle, and was here excluded, (3) perceived that the other gods were excluding him from the sacrifice. He followed them, and rose up on the north with . . . This is the time of the Svistakṛit. 4. The gods said to him, 'Do not disturb (the sacrifice).' [He rejoined,] 'Do not exclude me from the sacrifice; give me an oblation.' They agreed. He kept together, and did not scatter, the materials of the sacrifice, or injure anything. 5. The gods said, 'Take notice of all the offerings which have been presented, that we may form an oblation for him.' 6. They said to the Adhvaryu, 'Sprinklo the oblations in order with butter; and again replenish each fragment. Make them fresh; then cut off each part.' 7. The Adhvaryu accordingly sprinkled the oblations in order with butter, replenished each fragment, made them fresh, and divided all the parts from each other."*

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, referred to by Böhlingk and Roth, s. v. Bhaga and Pūshan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 5, 20 | *Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātītasya ruṣhā bhūvi | ujjāhāra sadasītho 'kṛhṇā yaḥ śepantam aśuśuchat | 21 | Pūshnāś chāpātayad dantīm Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | S'āpyamāne garimaṇi yo'hasād dāriyān dataḥ |* "Tho god (Mahādeva) in the assembly plucked out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his rage he had felled to the ground, because with his eye he had made a sign to [Dakṣa] who was cursing [Mahādeva]. 21. And he knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala had done to the king of Kalinga), because, when the great god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth." vi. 6, 41 | *Pūshā 'napatyāḥ piśhādo bhagna-danto 'bhavat purā | yo 'sau Dakṣhāya kupitām jahāsa vivrita-dvijat |* "Pūshan formerly became childless, an eater of ground food, toothless, because he had laughed with his teeth disclosed at [Mahādeva], who was incensed against Dakṣa."

their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before.

"There were in the sky three cities of the valourous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,<sup>195</sup> which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it; and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,<sup>196</sup> he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra.<sup>197</sup> Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks,<sup>198</sup> Umā, desiring to know,<sup>199</sup> said, 'Who is

<sup>195</sup> See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the *Karna-parvan* of the *M.Bh.* vv. 1402 ff. below.

<sup>196</sup> See the story from the *Karna-parvan*, cited below, vv. 1615 ff.

<sup>197</sup> For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380-384.

<sup>198</sup> Like an ascetic, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v. panchaśikha*.

<sup>199</sup> Or, is the proper reading *jñāsamānān*, and the sense this: "Umā said to [the gods] who were inquiring, 'Who is this?'" There is a parallel passage in the *Droṇa-parvan*, v. 9675, which throws some light on the one before us: *Purūṇi dagdhavantaṁ tān devī yātū pravīkṣitum | bālam ankagatān kṛtvā svayam panchaśikham pṇaḥ | Umā jñāsamānā vai "ko' yam" ity abravīt surān | asūyatai' cha Sakrasya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | bāhuṁ savajraṁ tān tasya kruddhasyāstambhayaḥ prabhuḥ | prahasya bhagavavāms tūrṇam sarva-lokeśvaro vibhuḥ | tataḥ saṁstatambhita-bhujah N'akro deva-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | jagāma sa-suras tūrṇam Brahmāṇam prabhum avyayam | te tam pramānya śirasā prochuḥ prāñjalayas tadā | kimapy ankagatam Brahman Pārvatīyāḥ bhūtam adbhutam | bāka-rūpa-dharaṇi dṛiṣṭvā nāsmābhīr abhivāditaḥ | taenāt tēam praśṭum icchāmo nirjitāḥ yena vai vayam | ayudhyatāḥ hi bālena tīlasyā sa-purandavāḥ |* "The goddess (Umā) went to see him when he had burnt the cities, having again placed the child with five locks in her lap. She told the gods, who inquired [should we read, *jñāsamānān*? though none of the printed copies read so] 'Who is this?' And the divine lord, master of all the worlds, all-pervading, with a smile, instantly paralyzed the arm and thunderbolt of Indra, who showed ill-will, and in his anger was about to smite with the thunderbolt. Indra, his arm having been paralyzed, immediately went with the gods to Brahmā, the imperishable lord; and bowing with their heads, with joined hands, they said: 'O Brahmā, we have seen in the lap of Pārvatī, a wonderful being bearing the form of a child; and we have not saluted him. Wherefore we desire to ask thee who is the child by whom we, including Indra, have been conquered, as if in play, and without any fight.'"



this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and paralyzed that arm resembling a club. None of the gods, including Prajāpati, understood the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant]. 'Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of the slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsa, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravātī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Siva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Āsvin, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is Death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions [or quarters], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years.'" Kṛishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudhisṭhira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthānu, Mahēśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Siva. Brahmins versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious;<sup>300</sup> and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (īśvara) and great (mahat), he is called Mahēśvara. Since he consumes, since

<sup>300</sup> In Vaj. S., v. 8, Agni is said to have three bodies. See the second volume of this work, p. 381, note.

he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjati. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (śiva), he is therefore called Śiva," etc., etc.

In the Bhīṣma-parvan (vv. 793 ff.) Kṛishṇa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā :

*Sanjayaḥ uvācha | Dhārtarāṣṭraṃ balaṃ drishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṇo vachanam abravīt | Sri-bhagavān uvācha | Suchir bhūtvā mahābāho sangrāmābhīmukho sthitaḥ | parājayāya katrānāṃ Durgā-stotram uṭṭraya | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | evam ukto 'rjunaḥ sankhye Vāsudevona dhīmataḥ | avatīrya rathāt Pārthaḥ stotram āha kṛitānjaliḥ |*

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāṣṭra come near to the conflict, Kṛishṇa, in the interest of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, O large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 169, note 167) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhā-parvan, in which Śiśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Kṛishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhisṭhira having resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabhā-parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Kṛishṇa, who is designated as Hari, the rishi, the ancient, identified with the Veda, invisible to those who know him, the highest of things moving and stationary, the source and destroyer of all things, the lord of the past, the future, and the present (v. 1213: *Athaivam bruvātām evaṃ teshāṃ abhyāyayaḥ Hariḥ | rishiḥ purāṇo vodātā 'drīṣyaś chaiva vijānatām | jagatas tasthushāṃ śreṣṭhaḥ prabhavaś chāpyayaś (chāpyayaś?) cha ha | bhūta-bhavya-bhavan-nāthaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ keśi-sūdanaḥ*). Numerous kings assembled to

witness the celebration (vv. 1260 ff.). On this occasion Bhīṣma proposed that, apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parvan, 1333 ff.:—*Esha hy eśāṁ samastānām tejo-bala-parā-kramaiḥ | madhye tapann ivābhāti jyotiṣhām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryeṇa nirvātaḥ iva vayunā*<sup>201</sup> | *bhāsitaṁ hlūditaṁ chaiva Kṛishṇeṇa daṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīṣmābhyānujñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavān | upajāhre 'tha vidhivad Vārshṇeyāyārghyam uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishṇaḥ śāstra-dīkṣṭena karmaṇā | Sīsupālas tu tām pūjāṁ Vāsudeve na chakshame* | "For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is 'enlightened and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīṣma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra. But Sīsupāla could not endure that honour shown to Vāsudeva."

Sīsupāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛishṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: *Ayaṁ cha smṛity-atikrānto hy apageyo 'lpa-darśanaḥ*); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athavā manyase Kṛishṇaṁ sthaviiraṁ Kuru-pungava | Vasudeve sthite vṛiddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ* | ); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1174 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjāṁ tvam punar bahu manyase | haviṣaḥ prāpya nisyaṇdam prāṣitaḥ svera nirjane* | ).<sup>202</sup> Having

<sup>201</sup> This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.

<sup>202</sup> Similarly we read in Sīsupāla's speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 34 . . . . *Gopālaḥ kuḷa-paṇṣanaḥ | yathā kākāḥ puroḍāśaṁ saparyāṁ katham arhati* | "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a crow deserves to eat an oblation?" The commentator thus gives what he calls the "real sense" of these words: "*Gopālaḥ*"

thus vented his indignation, Śiśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishṭhira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīshma then defends Kṛishṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

*Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chyutaḥ | trayāṇām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujāḥ | Kṛishṇena hi jītāḥ yuddhe bahavaḥ kshatriyarashabhāḥ | jagat sarvaṁ cha Vārshṇeya nikhilena pratiśṭhītam | tasmāt satsv api vṛiddheṣhu Kṛishṇam archāmi netarān | . . . 1382. Nā kevalaṁ vayaṁ kāmūch Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham puraskṛitya kṛitārthaṁ vā kathanchana | archāmahe 'rechitaṁ sabbhīr bhuvi bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yaśaḥ śauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsya vijnāyārcham prayujmahe | na cha kaśchid ihāsmābhīḥ subālo 'py aparikṣitaḥ | guṇair vṛiddhān atikramya Hariḥ archyatamo mataḥ | jñāna-vṛiddho dvijātinaṁ kshatriyūṇām balādhikaḥ | "1377: This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Kshatriyas have been conquered by Kṛishṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārshṇeya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Kṛishṇa, and not the others. . . . 1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connexion, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy*

*iti veda-prithivy-ādī-pūlakaḥ ity arthaḥ | kutsilāṁ veda-viparītāṁ lapanti iti kulapāḥ pākhaṇḍāḥ | tūn aṁsate samāghātayati itī tathā saḥ | "akākaḥ" kaṁ cha akāṁ cha kūke (= ka+āke) sukha-dukhe te na vidyete yasya saḥ | "akākaḥ" āptakūmaḥ ity arthaḥ | sa yathā āptakūmo deva-yogyam puroḍāsa-mūtram na arhati api tu sarvasvam api tathā 'yaṁ iri-kṛishṇo brahmarshi-yogyam samarpaṇa-mūtram katham arhati | kintu ātma-samarpaṇam apy arhati ity arthaḥ | "Gopāla" means the protector of the Veda, the earth, etc. "Ku-lapāḥ" are those who speak what is evil, contrary to the Veda, heretics. "Kulapāṁsana" (Ku+lapa+āṁsana) is thus one who destroys (aṁsate) such persons. "Akākaḥ" (the commentator chooses here to suppose that there is an elided *a* between *yathā* and *kūkaḥ*) is one to whom ('kūke') pleasure and pain (ka+ā+ka) do not attach; one who has gained all he desires. Just as such an one merits not merely an oblation suitable for a deity, but all wealth also, so Kṛishṇa does not deserve merely the offering suitable for a Brāhman-rishi, but also the offering up of one's self."*

of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kshatriyas." . . .

1386: *Pūjyatāyāncha Govinde hetu dvāv api samsthitaṁ | veda-vedānga-  
vijñānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tathā | nṛināṁ lokaḥ hi ko 'nyo 'sti viśiṣh-  
ṭaḥ Keśavād ṛite | dānāṁ dākṣyaṁ śrūtaṁ śauryaṁ hrīḥ kīrtir buddhir  
uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhṛitīś tushṭiḥ pūṣṭiścha niyatā 'chyute | tam  
imaṁ loka-sampannam āchāryam pitaraṁ gurum | arghyam architā  
archārhaṁ sarve saṁkṣhantum arhatha | ṛite'ig gurur vivāhyaś cha snātako  
nṛipatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvaṁ etad Hṛishīkeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chyutaḥ |  
Kṛishṇaḥ eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛishṇasya hi kṛite  
viśvam idaṁ bhūtaṁ charācharam | ośha prakṛitir avyaktā kartā chaiva  
sanātanaḥ | paraś cha sarva-bhūtebhyaś tasmād pūjyatamo 'chyutaḥ |  
Buddhir mano mahad vāyus tejo 'mbhaḥ kham mahī cha yā | chatur-  
vidhāṁ cha yad bhūtaṁ sarvaṁ Kṛishṇe pratishṭhitam | . . . . .*

1396: *Sa-derakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṁ tu  
puruṣo balaḥ S'isupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛishṇaṁ  
tasmād evam prabhāshate | yo hi dharmāṁ vicchinuyād utkṛishṭam  
matimān naraḥ | so vai paśyed yūthā dharmāṁ na tathā Chedi-rād ayaṁ |  
sa-vṛiddha-bāleshv athavā pūṛthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate  
Kṛishṇaṁ ko vā py enaṁ na pūjayet | athainām dushkṛitām pūjām S'isū-  
pālo vyarasyati | dushkṛitāyām yathānyūyām tathā 'yaṁ kartum arhati |*

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hṛishīkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kṛishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, movable and immovable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Kṛishṇa.<sup>203</sup> He is un-

<sup>203</sup> The grounds urged for honouring Kṛishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of his qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

distinguishable matter (prakṛiti), and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (mahat), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Krishna. . . . 1396. The divine Kṛṣṇa is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Sīsupāla, does not know that Krishna [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Krishna as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Sīsupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

Sīsupāla afterwards renews his vilifications of Krishna, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

1433. *Sīsupālaḥ uvācha | vibhīṣikābhīr bahvībhīr bhīṣhayan sarva-*  
*pārthivān | na vyapatrapaso kasmād vṛiddhaḥ saṁ kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuk-*  
*taṁ etat tṛtīyāyāṁ prakṛitau vartatā tvayā | vaktuṁ dharmād apētār-*  
*thaṁ tvaṁ hi sarva-kurāṭṭama[ḥ] | nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho*  
*vā 'ndham anvīyāt | tathā bhūtāḥ hi Kauravyāḥ yeshāṁ Bhīṣhma tvam*  
*agranīḥ | Patanā-ghāta-pūrvāni karmāny asya viśeṣhataḥ | tvayā kīrti-*  
*yatā 'smākaṁ bhūyaḥ pravayathitam manaḥ | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Kṛṣṇa-*  
*vaṁ stotum icchhataḥ | katham Bhīṣhma na te jīhvā śatadheyaṁ vidīry-*  
*yate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīṣhma bālatarair naraiḥ | tam imāṁ*  
*jñāna-vṛiddhaḥ saṁ gopam saṁstotum icchhasi | yady anena hatā bālye*  
*śakunīḥ chītram atra kīm | tau vā 'śva-vṛishabhau Bhīṣhma yau na*  
*yuddha-vīśvādaḥ | chetanā-rahitaṁ kāśhphuṁ yady anena nipātītam |*  
*pūdena śakaṭam Bhīṣhma tatra kīm kṛitam adbhutam | valmīka-mātraḥ*  
*saptāhaṁ yady anena dhṛīto 'chalaḥ | tadā Govardhano Bhīṣhma na tach*  
*chītram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annaṁ kṛīdatā naga-mūrdhani |*  
*iti te Bhīṣhma śṛiṇvānāḥ paraṁ viśmayam āgatāḥ | yasya chānena dhar-*  
*ma-jña bhuktam annam bālyasaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kāṁsaḥ ity etan na*  
*mahādbhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīṣhma nūnaṁ kathayatāṁ satām |*  
*yad vakshye tvāṁ adharmajñaṁ vākyaṁ Kuru-kulādharma | śtrīṣhu goṣhu*  
*na śastrāṇi pātayed brāhmaṇeṣhu cha | yasya chānnāni bhunjīta yasya*  
*cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsanti sajjanaṁ dharmināḥ sadā |*  
*Bhīṣhma lokaḥ hi tat sarvaṁ vitathaṁ tvayi dṛīṣyate | jñāna-vṛiddhaṁ cha*

*vriddhañ cha bhūyāṁsañ Keśavam mama | ajānataḥ ivākhyatī sañstuvan  
Kauravādhamā | go-ghnaḥ stri-ghnaḥ cha sañ Bhīṣma tvad-vākyād yadī  
pūjyate | evam-bhūtaḥ cha yo Bhīṣma kathaṁ sañstavam arhati | . . .  
1451. Nūnam prakṛitir eṣā te jaghanya nātra sañśayaḥ | atāḥ pāpiyati  
chaishām Pāṇḍavānāṁ apiśhyate | yeshām archyatamaḥ Kṛṣṇas tvañ  
cha yeshām pradarsakaḥ | dharmavāñs tvam adharma-jñaḥ satām mārgād  
avaplutaḥ | ityādi |*

Śisupāla answers Bhīṣma: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarms? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the third condition,<sup>204</sup> shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīṣma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his (Kṛṣṇa's) slaughter of Pūtana<sup>205</sup> and other feats. How is it, Bhīṣma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogize the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew Sakuni,<sup>206</sup> or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,<sup>207</sup> what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,<sup>208</sup> I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-

<sup>204</sup> The commentator explains this phrase as follows: *Dve prakṛitī parīṇāminyaṁ māyā tasyaṁ chit-pratīvimbaḥ cha | tritīyā prakṛitīḥ te etad-ubhayādhyāsādhiṣṭhānañ nirvīḍeṣhañ vastu | tatra vartatā vartamānena* etc. "Two conditions are changeable, viz. (1) illusion (māyā) and (2) the reflected image of thought (chit-pratīvimba) in it. The third condition is the basis of the erroneous ascription of the other two, substance without distinction," etc. I am indebted to Dr. R. Rost for an important suggestion regarding the combination of two of the words in this sentence. Dr. Rost informs me that in the text one MS. reads *kurūtamaḥ* and another *sarvaṁ kurūtama*.

<sup>205</sup> A female demon slain by Kṛṣṇa.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 506 (vol. iv., p. 276, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

<sup>206</sup> See the Udyoga-parvan 4409, where Pūtana and Śakuni (there spelt with a long ī) are mentioned together as having been slain by Kṛṣṇa in childhood.

<sup>207</sup> See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 508 (vol. iv., p. 279, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

<sup>208</sup> See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 526 (vol. iv., p. 315, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, O Bhishma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhishma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women,<sup>200</sup> cattle, or Brahmins, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pn̄pil]. All this, Bhishma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is, according to thy word, to be revered,—how, Bhishma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shown to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Kṛishṇa is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!"

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhishma from assaulting Sīsupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhishma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Sīsupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's inquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Kṛishṇa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.<sup>210</sup> On seeing this, his

<sup>200</sup> See above, pp. 152 f.

<sup>210</sup> On this story of Sīsupāla Lassen remarks (*Indian Antiquities*, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): "Sīsupāla in this case represents Śiva, and the conflict of the Śiva-worship with that of Viṣṇu for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the dis-



mother begged a boon from Kṛishṇa, viz. that he would forgive Sísupāla's offences. Kṛishṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

*Evam esha nripaḥ pāpaḥ Sísupālaḥ sumanda-dhīḥ | tvāṁ samāhvayate  
vira Govinda-vara-darpiṭaḥ | Naishū Chedi-pater buddhir yayā tvā "hva-  
yate 'ohyutam | nūnam esha jagad-bhartuḥ Kṛishṇasyaiva viniśchayaḥ |  
ko hi mām Bhīmasenādya kṣhitāv arhati pārthivaḥ | kṣheptuṁ kāla-pari-  
tātmā yathaisha kula-pāṁsanaḥ | esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'ṁśas cha  
Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum icchaty uta tathā vibhuḥ |  
yenaisha Kuru-śārdūla śārdūlaḥ iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty atīva durbuddhiḥ  
sarvān asmān achintayan |*

"Thus this wicked king Sísupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, O hero. This does not show wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Kṛishṇa, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, O Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (Sísupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in consequence of which, O chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Sísupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.), and asks why Kṛishṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīshma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīshma should be killed or burned. Bhīshma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Kṛishṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that

appearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Kṛishṇa. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Kṛishṇa's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page (p. 823, second ed.) "Sísupāla is probably an earlier name of Śiva, who is called 'Paśupati,' or lord, protector, of beasts. 'S'isū' denotes the young of men and beasts, and 'pāla' protector. He had a second name 'Sunitha' (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Śisupāla hereupon challenges Kṛishṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutvaiva Bhīṣmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikra-  
maḥ | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsudevam uvācha hū | āhvaye tvāṁ raṇaṁ  
gachha mayā sārḍhaṁ Janārdana | yūvad adya nihanmi tvāṁ sahitaṁ  
sarva-Pāṇḍavaḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛishṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ |  
nripatīn samatikramya yair arājū tvam architaḥ | ye tvāṁ dūṣam arāja-  
nam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛishṇa badhyāḥ  
te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-sārḍūla [s?] tathau garjann amareṣaṇaḥ |  
evam ukte tataḥ Kṛishṇo mṛidu-pūrvam idaṁ vaochaḥ | uvācha pāṛthivūn  
sarvān sa samakṣhaṁ cha Pāṇḍavān | eṣha naḥ śatrur atyantam pāṛthivāḥ  
Sātvaṭi-sutaḥ | Sātvaṭānāṁ nṛiṣaṁsātmā na hito 'napakāriṇām | Prūg-  
jyotiṣha-puram yātūn asmūn jnātū nṛiṣaṁsa-kṛit | adahad Dvārakām  
eṣha svasṛyāḥ san narādhipāḥ | kṛiḍato Bhoja-rājasya eṣha Raivatake  
giranu | hatvā baddhvā oha tān sarvān upāyāt eva-puram purā | āśvamedhe  
hayam medhyam utṛiṣṭaṁ rakṣidhīr vṛitam | pitur me yajna-vighnārtham  
aharat pāpa-niṣhayaḥ | Sauvirān pratiyātāncha Babhror eṣha tapasvi-  
naḥ | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akūṁ [m?] tāṁ ito gatām | eṣha māyā-  
praticchannaḥ Kārūṣārthe tapasvinīm | jahāra Bhadrām Vaiśālīm mā-  
tulasya nṛiṣaṁsa-vat | pīṭri-svasuḥ kṛite duḥkhaṁ sumahad marṣhayāmy  
aham | diṣṭyā hidaṁ sarva-rājñūṁ sannidhāv adya vartate | paśyanti  
hi bhavanto 'dya mayy atīva vyatikramam | kṛitāni tu parokṣam me yāni  
tāni nibodhata | imaṁ tv asya na śakṣyāmi kṣantum adya vyatikramam |  
avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukminyūn asya mūḍhasya  
prārthanā 'śid mumūrṣhataḥ | na oha tāṁ prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śadraḥ  
vedaśrutīm iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitaḥ te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudeva-  
vachaḥ śrutvā Chedīrājāṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā  
Śisupālaḥ pratāpavān | jahāsa evanavaddhāsaṁ vūkyāṁ chedam uvācha  
ha | mat-pūrvām Rukminīm Kṛishṇa saṁsatsu parikīrtayan | viśeṣhataḥ  
pāṛthivēṣu vṛiḍāṁ na kurushe katham | manyamūno hi kaḥ satsu puruṣhaḥ  
parikīrtayet | anya-pūrvām striyāṁ jātu tvad-ānyo Madhusūdana |  
kṣhama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama kṣhama | kruddhād vā  
'pi prasannād vā kiṁ me tvatto bhaviṣyati | tathā bruvataḥ evāṣya  
bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | manasa 'chintayach chakraṁ daitya-garva-  
nirūdanam | etāsminn eva kāle tu chakre hasta-gate sati | uvācha bhaga-  
vān uchachair vūkyāṁ vūkyā-viśūradaḥ | śṛiṇvantu me mahīpālāḥ yenaitat*

*kṣhamitam mayā | aparādha-batām kṣhāmyam mātur asyaiva yāchane |  
dattam mayā yāchitām oha tad vai pūrṇam hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā ba-  
dhayishyāmi patyatām vo mahīkṣhitam | evam uktvā Yadu-śreṣṭhāḥ  
Chedirājasya tat-kehanūt | vyapāharach chhiraḥ kruddhaḥ cakronāmītra-  
karaṣaṇaḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur vajrākataḥ ivāchalaḥ |*

“The king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, after he had heard Bhīshma, then addressed the former: ‘I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Kṛishṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through folly, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.’ Having so spoken, the tiger of kings stood growling and indignant. Kṛishṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence: ‘This son of Sātvatī, O princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sātvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, a sister’s son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father’s sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he, like a cruel wretch, carried off for the Kārusha the devout Bhadrā, daughter of Viśāla, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father’s sister (Śisupāla’s mother), I submit to great vexation. Fortunately, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the full assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the veda.’ Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva,

all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty Sisupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it, that thou art not ashamed, Kṛishṇa, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?'<sup>211</sup> For 'what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Kṛishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, O kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt."<sup>212</sup>

<sup>211</sup> Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to Sisupāla, as we are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573, first ed.; p. 69, vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.): *Bhīshmakaḥ Kuṇḍine rājū Vidarbha-vishaye 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat putro Rukmiṇī oha varāṅganā | Rukmiṇīm chakame Kṛishṇaḥ sū oha tām chāru-hūsinī | na dadau yūchate chaitānā Rukmī dvesheṇa chakrīṇe | dadau cha S'isupālāya Jarāsandha-prachoditāḥ | Bhīshmako Rukmiṇā sārddham Rukmiṇīm uru-vikramāḥ |* "Bhīshmaka was king in Kuṇḍina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Kṛishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweetly-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīshmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to S'isupāla." Kṛishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding. The story is told at greater length in the Harivaṁśa, sect. 117, vv. 6579 ff.; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. sections 43 ff.

<sup>212</sup> See the sequel, vv. 1585-1588. The Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson's translation, p. 437, first ed.; vol. iv. p. 104, of Dr. Hall's ed.) tells that S'isupāla had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiranyakaśipu, who was killed by Viṣṇu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Rāvaṇa, who was slain by Rāma. In his character as S'isupāla he evinced an intense hatred towards Viṣṇu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," (V. P. iv. 14, 14: *S'isupāla-ātvena bhagavato bhū-bhārāvātārāṇāya avatīrṇātmāsya Puṇḍarīkanayanānākhyasya upari dveshānubandham atītarām chakāra |*) and was in consequence slain by him;

Duryodhana, the son of Dhṛitarāshṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Kṛishṇa's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Kṛishṇa, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (*prithivīnchāntarikshancha dyāuṁ chaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishṭātmā nayaty ātma-vaśaṁ vaśi*) | He then goes on to say, vv. 2529 ff. :

*Ekato vā jagat kṛiteṇam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛiteṇād  
atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ |  
na oha kṛiteṇaṁ jagach chhaktam bhasmikartuṁ Janārdanam | yataḥ  
satyaṁ yato dharma yato hrīr ājayaṁ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindo  
yataḥ Kṛishṇas tato jayaḥ | prithivīm chāntarikshancha divancho Purush-  
ottamaḥ | visheshtayati dhūtātmā kṛidann iva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛitvā  
Pāṇḍuvān satraṁ lokaṁ sammohayann iva | adharma-niratān mūdhūn  
dagdhum ichhati te sūtān | kūla-chakraṁ jagach-chakraṁ yuga-chakrāncho  
Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivartayate 'niṣam | kūlasya cha  
hi mṛityoścho jangama-sthāvarasya oha | īśato bhagavān ohaḥ satyam etad  
bravīmi te | īśann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāny āra-  
bhate kartuṁ kināśaḥ iva vardhanaḥ | tena vanchayate lokān māyāyogena  
Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛita-  
rāshṭraḥ uvācha | katham tvaṁ Mādhabaṁ vettha sarva-loka-mahesvaram |  
katham enaṁ na vedāhaṁ tad mamāchakṣhva Sanjaya | Sanjayaḥ uvācha |  
śṛīnu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyate | vidyā-kīno tamo-dhṛasto  
nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tātu jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanaṁ |  
kartāram akṛitāṁ devam bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ*

but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the Supreme being," S'isūpāla became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favorable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Kṛishṇa as an object of hatred was ever-present to S'isūpāla's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of S'isūpāla's brother, king of the S'ālvas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Kṛishṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvan, vv. 615-890.

*uvācha | Gāvalgaṇe 'tra kṛ bhaktir yā te nityaṁ Jānārdana | yathā tvam  
abhijānāsi triyugam Mādhūsūdanaṁ | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | māyāṁ na  
sve bhadrāṁ te na vṛthā dharmam āchare | śuddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhakti-  
śāstrād vedmi Janārdanaṁ | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | Duryodhana Hṛi-  
keśam prapadyasva Janārdanaṁ | āpto naḥ Sanjayaḥ tāta śaraṇaṁ gaccha  
Keśavam | Duryodhanaḥ uvācha | Bhagavān Devaki-putro lokāntaḥ ched  
nihanishyati | pravadann Arjuna śakhyāṁ nāhaṁ gacchhe 'dya Keśavam |*  
2529. "On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in  
his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought  
reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to  
ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore  
is he Govinda; since he is Kṛishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief  
of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to  
the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pāṇḍavas  
a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy  
(Dhṛitarāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava  
by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world,  
and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being  
alone is lord of time, of death, and of things movable and im-  
movable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator,  
though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like  
a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of  
delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra  
said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole  
world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya.  
Sanjaya answered: Hear, O king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me  
knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk  
in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize  
Mādhūsūdana, who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the  
unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their de-  
struction. Dhṛitarāshṭra asks: O Gāvalgaṇi (Sanjaya), what is this  
devotion of thine to Janārdana, whereby thou recognizest him to exist  
in the three Yugas? Sanjaya answers: I do not pursue a delusion,  
bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion  
attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the scripture (*śāstra*).  
Dhṛitarāshṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛiṣīkeśa, Janārdana:  
Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Keśava as thy

refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort to-day to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihatō Bhīmasenenā smartāsi vāchanam pituḥ*)."

After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Kṛishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

*Sanjayaḥ uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvāchanam śubham |  
yūvat tatrābhijñāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasaṇt sarva-bhūtānāṁ  
vasuto'ad deva-yonitāḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛihatvād Viṣṇur uchyate |  
maunād dhyānāḥ cha yogūchcha vidhī Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tattva-  
mayatvāch cha Mudhuhā Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śabdo  
naścha nirvṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Viṣṇus tad-bhāva-yogūchcha Kṛishṇo bhavati  
Sātvataḥ | puṇḍarikam paraṁ dhāma nityam akṣhayam avyayam | tad-  
bhāvat Puṇḍarikākṣho dasyu-trāsaj Janārdanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na  
chyavate yach cha sattvād na hīyate | sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād āreṣa-  
bhād Vṛishabheksanaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam Ajaḥ tasmād anikajit |  
devānāṁ eva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harṣāt sukhāt su-  
khaishvaryaḥ Hṛishikesatvam āsnute | bāhubhyām rodasi bibhṛad mahā-  
bāhur iti smṛitāḥ | adho na kṣīyate jātu ya smāt tasmād ādhokṣajaḥ |  
narāṇāṁ ayanāch chāpi tato Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitāḥ | pūranūt sadanāch  
chāpi tato 'sau Puruṣottamaḥ | asataḥ cha sataḥ chaiva sarvasya prabha-  
vāpyayāt | sarvasya cha sadā jñānāt Sarvam etam prachakṣate | satyo  
pratishṭhitāḥ Kṛishṇaḥ satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyūt satyancha  
Govindas tasmāt Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Viṣṇur vikramaṇād devo jayanāj  
Jishṇur uchyate | śāsapatvād Anantaścha Govinda-vedanād gavām | atatt-  
vaṁ kurute tattvaṁ tena mohayate prajāḥ | evaṁvidho dharma-nityo bhaga-  
vān Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur ānṛiṣaṁsyaṛtham achyutaḥ |*

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (*vasaṇt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛihatvāt*) he is called Viṣṇu. From his silence, (*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Mādhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is

Madhuhan, and Madhusūdāna. The word *kṛishi* denotes 'earth,' and *na* denotes 'cessation'; Vishṇu, from containing the nature of these things, is Kṛishṇa, the Sāttvata. Puṇḍarīka means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is Puṇḍarikāksha. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*sattva*), therefore, from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (*ārshabhat*) he is Vṛishabhekshaṇa. As he is not generated by a father, he is Aja (the unborn), the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the mighty being is Dāmodara. He obtains his character as Hṛishīkeśa from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na kshiyate*), he is Adhokshaja. From movement among men (*narāṇām*<sup>213</sup> *ayanat*) he is called Nārāyaṇa. From filling (*pūraṇāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is Purushottama. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarvasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him Sarva. Kṛishṇa is based on truth (*satye*), and truth is based on him, and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is also called Satya. The god is called Vishṇu from striding (*vikramaṇāt*), Jishṇu from conquering (*jayanāt*), Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from the possession of cattle<sup>214</sup> (*vedanūd gavām*). He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant

<sup>213</sup> Perhaps the true reading is *nārāṇām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 31.

<sup>214</sup> Another explanation of this name is given in S'ānti-parvan, v. 13228 f. : *Nash-tām cha dharāṇīm pūrvaṁ vindaṁ vai guhāgatām | Govindaḥ iti tenāhaṁ devair vāgbhir abhiśhṛutaḥ |* "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as Govinda." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the Ādi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: *Gāṁ vindatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitaujasā | varāha-rūpiṇā chāntar vikshobhita-jalāvīlam |* "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine Govinda of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar found the earth [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215), which seems to show that, at the period when it was written, the Hindūs were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-viddhi-kahaya-vaśād udvrittormi-samākulam |* "[The ocean] tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."



in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the sake of innocence."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Krishna, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shows the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parvan that Krishna went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pāṇḍus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Krishna. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Krishna addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

*Vidureṇaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pūga-hū | Duryodhanaṁ Dhār-  
tarāshṭram abhyabhāshata vīryavūn | eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyaso  
mām Suyodhana | poribhūya sudurbuddhe grahitum mām chikīrshasi |  
ihaiva Pāṇḍavūḥ sarve tathaiṇdha-vṛiṣṇayaḥ | ihādityāścha Rudrāś  
cha Vasavaś cha saharshibhiḥ | evam uktvā jahāsochchahiḥ Keśavaḥ para-  
vira-hū | tasya saṁsmayataḥ Śaurer vidyud-rūpāḥ mahātmanaḥ | angush-  
ṭha-mūtrās tridāśāḥ mumukhuḥ pūvakārchishāḥ | asya Brahmā lalāṭa-stho  
Rudro vakshasi chābhavat | loka-pālāḥ bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajā-  
yata | Ādityāś chaiva Sādhyāś cha Vasavo 'thāśvināv api | Marutāś cha  
śahendreṇa Viśve devāś tathaiṇdha cha | babhūvus chaika<sup>210</sup>-rūpāṇi Yaksha-  
Gandharva-Rakshasām | prādūrāstaṁ tathā dorbhyaṁ Sankarshana-  
Dhananjayaḥ | dakṣiṇe 'thāryuno dhanvī haṭi Rāmāś cha savyataḥ |  
Bhīmo Yudhisṭhiraś chaiva Mādri-putrau cha priṣṭhataḥ | Andhakāḥ  
Vṛiṣṇayaś chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhāś tataḥ | agre babhūvuḥ Kṛiṣh-  
ṇasya samudyata-mahāyudhāḥ | śankha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṅga-lāṅgala-  
nandakāḥ | adriśyantodyatāṇy eva sarva-praharaṇāṇi cha | nānū-bāhuṣhu  
Kṛiṣhṇasya dīpyamānāni sarvaśaḥ | ityādi.*

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra: 'Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, O fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that], here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛiṣṇis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken, Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty de-

<sup>210</sup> Quere, may not *chaiva* be the proper reading ?

scendant of Sūra [Krishna] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhya, Vasu, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Rākshasas. Sankarshana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhishtira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vṛishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishna."

In the next passage, taken from the Karna-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishna (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karna promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karna says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishna) (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādriṇ na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishna, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Krishnaś cha sraśṭā jagato ratham tam abhirakshati*<sup>216</sup>), if, in like manner, Salya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Krishna) and, as well as Dāsārha, (Krishna) who knows a horse's heart, is skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karna thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadriśaḥ Sauraḥ Salyaḥ samiti-sobhanaḥ | sārathyaṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet | . . .* 1311: *Evam abhyadhikaḥ Pārthāt bhaviṣhyāmi gunair aham | Salyo 'py abhyadhikaḥ Krishnaḥ Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hridayaṁ veda Dāsārhaḥ para-*

<sup>216</sup> If the words *sraśṭā jagataḥ*, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karna could have regarded Krishna as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling S'alya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

*vira-hā | tathā S'alyo 'pi jānīte haya-jñānaṁ mahārathaḥ |*) Duryodhana then goes to Salya, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karna, saying that he (Salya) was equal to Kṛishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karna but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyam rathinam treshṭha prañayāt kartum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādheyo vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhishūṇām hi Karnasya grahitā 'nyo na vidyate | rite hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samam yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karnam yathā Brahmā Mahesvaram |*). Salya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karna, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pīṇau mama bhujau vajra-saṁghananopaman |* . . 1363: *Dārayeyam mahīm kṛtsnām vikireyam cha parvatām | S'eshayeyam samudrām cha tejasā svena pāṛthiva |*). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior<sup>217</sup> (v. 1365: *Kusmād yunakshi sārathyo nīchasyādhirathe rane | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktum tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe |*). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karna as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Karṇo 'bhyadikas trattaḥ*), but considered Karna to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Salya) as superior to Kṛishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhyadhikam S'alya guṇaiḥ Karṇam Dhananjayāt | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāch cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karṇo hy abhyadhikaḥ Pāṛthād astrair eva nararashabha | bhavān abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād asva-jñāne bale tathā | yathā 'svahṛidayam veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ | dviguṇam tvām tathā vetei Madrarājesvarātmanja |*). Salya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Kṛishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karna, vv. 1387 ff.: *Yad mām bravishi Gāndhāre*

<sup>217</sup> He regarded Karna as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (*sūta-putrasya*, v. 1374).

*madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśiṣṭaṁ Devakīputrāt prthimān asmy ahaṁ  
 teyaḥ | eṣa śārathyam ātiṣṭhe Rādheyasya yaśasvināḥ | yudhyataḥ  
 Pāṇḍavāgryeṇa yathā teaṁ vīra manyase | samayaś cha hi me vīra  
 kaśchid Vaiskartanam prati | uterijeyaṁ yathā-braddham ahaṁ vācho 'ya  
 sannidhau | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te saha Karna  
 Bhārata | abravīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama | "I am  
 pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou  
 declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be  
 charioteer to the renowned Karṇa when he fights with the chief of the  
 Pāṇḍavas, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I  
 have entered into a certain agreement with Karṇa, let me candidly  
 excuse to him the words I have used." Sanjaya proceeded: "Thy son  
 (i.e. Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of  
 the king of the Madras (Salya)."*

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as charioteer to Karṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd-35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to Salya an ancient story, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three castles, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three castles should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the castles with a single arrow (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṇi trīṇy eva samāsthāya mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'emin . . . tato varaha-sahasre tu samashyāmaḥ parasparam | ekibhāvaṁ gamishyanti purāṇy elāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavataḥ tadā | ekamunā deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhaviṣhyati*). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three castles, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on

earth<sup>218</sup> (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above mentioned severally occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāksha, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond within their castle, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the castles of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the titans (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the castles could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, who gives security amid alarms, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the "yoga" and the "sāṅkhya" of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya grinanto brahma śāśvatam | . . . tushṭvur vāgbhir ugrābhīr bhayeshv abhaya-dañ nṛipa | sarvātmānam mahātmānāṃ yenāptam sarvam ātmanā | tapo-viśeshair vividhair yogaṃ yo veda chātmanaḥ | yaḥ sāṅkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vāśe sadā |*). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as "the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world" (1442: *sarva-bhūtamayam dṛiṣṭvā tam ajaṃ jagataḥ patim*). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he himself alone could not

<sup>218</sup> See above p. 203; and the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff.

destroy them, as they were strong, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not sustain half of his strength (*vibh-artum tava tejo 'rdham na śakṣyāmaḥ*), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*ardham ādāya sarveṣhām tejasā 'bhyadhiko' bhavat | sa tu devo balenāsit sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti Sankaraḥ*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469: *mūrtiḥ sarvāḥ samādhāya trailokyasya tatas tataḥ | ratham te kalpayiṣhyāmaḥ*). The composition of the car, formed by Viśvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471-1492). Viṣṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkāra, the gāyatri, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Viṣṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow; for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power."<sup>219</sup> Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce fury, intolerable, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . 1507. He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthānu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, movable and immovable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold." (*Iśus chāpy abhavad Viṣṇur Jvalanaḥ Somaḥ eva cha | Agnī-Somaḥ jagat kṛitsnaḥ Vaiṣṇavaḥ chochyate jagat | Viṣṇuś chātmā bhagavato*

<sup>219</sup> Can these words be a Vaiṣṇava addition to the passage?

*Bhavasāyāmita-tejasaḥ | tasmād dhanur jyā-saṁsparśāt na viśehur  
Harasya te | tasmin śare tigma-manyum mumocāśahyam Īśvaraḥ |  
Bhṛigu-Agiro-manyu-bhavaṁ krodhāgnim ati-dussaham | sa nīla-lohito  
dhūmraḥ kṛttivāsāḥ bhayankaraḥ | . . . 1507: Nityaṁ trāta cha  
hantū cha dharmādharmāśritān narān | pramāthibhir bhīma-balaḥ bhīma-  
rūpāḥ manojavaiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthānūḥ tair evātma-guṇair vṛtāḥ |  
tasyāṅgāni samāśṛitya sthitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jangamājangamaṁ  
rājan śuśubho 'dbhūta-darśanam | )*

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Viṣṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he (*mattaḥ śreṣṭhataro hi yaḥ*) should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā, and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Viṣṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,<sup>320</sup> and arrives at the triple castle of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Viṣṇu in the arrow, when it is being fitted on the string, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Viṣṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva again fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple castle (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Salva to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to

<sup>320</sup> In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his strength (*ṛishayaḥ tatra devaḥ stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaiḥ | tejāś chāśmai vardha-  
yanto rājann āsan punaḥ punaḥ*). This is a pure Vedic touch, the same power of im-  
parting strength to the gods by their praises being occasionally asserted of the bards  
in the Rig-veda. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 91. In most of the texts  
there cited, however, it is perhaps only meant that the gods were gratified by the  
praises addressed to them.

Karna. Salya, he adds, is superior to Krishna, Karna, and Arjuna, and as Karna resembled Mahadeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahma in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Parasurama performing austerity to propitiate Mahadeva and obtain celestial arms. Mahadeva appears to him, and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to receive them. Parasurama renews his austerities and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahadeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806), and receives celestial arms from Mahadeva. Parasurama had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karna (1613), which proves that Karna is free from sin; and Karna is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Suta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Kshatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger resembling the sun (*katham aditya-sadrisam mrigī ryāghraṁ janishyati* | 1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahma becoming Mahadeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Karna. Salya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Krishna also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Salya adds, if Karna should slay Arjuna, Krishna would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no prince would be able to stand before him among his opponents when he was incensed, (v. 1629 ff.: *Yadi hanyūḥ cha Kaunteyaṁ Suta-putraḥ kathanchana | drishtvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Keśavaḥ | śankha-chakra-gadā-pānir dhakshyate tava vāhinim | na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vāśhneyasya mahātmanaḥ | sthāsyaṁ pratyantkeśu kaśchid atra nripas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karna, and of Salya himself: (1648) *Ivam salya-bhūtaḥ śatrūnām avishakyaḥ parākrame | tatas tvam uchyase rājan Salyaḥ ity ari-sūdana | tava bāhu-balam prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sātvataḥ | tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Krishno balād dhikāḥ | yathā hi Krishnena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Phālgune hate | tathā Karnā-*



*tyayibhāve tvayā dhāryam mahad balaṃ | kimarthaṃ samare saṁnyam*  
*Vānudevo nyavārayet* (sic) | *kimarthaṃ cha bhavān saṁnyam na hanishyati*  
*Mārisha* [“Thou art a spear (*sālya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irre-  
 sistible in valour: hence, O king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called  
*Sālya*.<sup>221</sup> Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sātvatas could not  
 [resist]. But [it is said that] Kṛishṇa is superior in force to the  
 strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by  
 Kṛishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by  
 thee, if Kārṇa were slain. Why should Kṛishṇa withstand [our] army?  
 and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?” Sālya then  
 answers (1648 ff.) in nearly the same words<sup>222</sup> which had formerly  
 been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: “I am pleased with thee, bestower  
 of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to  
 the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned  
 Kārṇa,” etc. This repetition of the same speech of Sālya at the close  
 of the episode regarding Mahādeva's conquest of the Asuras with  
 Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial  
 weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode  
 has been subsequently interpolated. As Sālya had already consented,  
 in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Kārṇa's charioteer, it was quite unneces-  
 sary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva,  
 which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is  
 merely followed by a renewed expression of Sālya's willingness to  
 comply with the request of Kārṇa and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are  
 singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two  
 rishis, Nārāyaṇa and Nara,<sup>223</sup> who always lived and acted together. A

<sup>221</sup> In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words: *S'alya-  
 bhūtas te śatrūṣāṃ yasmāt tvam yudhi mānada | tasmāt S'alyo hi te nāma kathayate*  
*prithivī-tale* | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the  
 probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

<sup>222</sup> The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line  
 of the later passage the words *agre saṁnyasya mānada*, “before the army, conferrer  
 of honour,” are substituted for *madhye saṁnyasya Kaurava*, “in the midst of the  
 army, (i) Kaurava.”

<sup>223</sup> In the Vāmana-purāṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Anfrecht's Catalogue, p. 456, it  
 is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahmā, that  
 his (Dharma's) wife was Ahimsā, and that she bore to him Hari and Kṛishṇa, and  
 Nara and Nārāyaṇa, of whom the two former were devoted to the practice of the Yoga

similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connexion will appear from the following passages,<sup>224</sup> in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 461 ff.) that Kṛishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of pacifying Kṛishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.) his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),<sup>225</sup> and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.) :

*Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya Madhusūdana | ātmanavātmāsāt  
kṛtvā jagad āsīḥ parantapa | yugātau tava Vārshneya nābhi-padmad  
ajūyata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyesaṁ sakalāṁ jagat | taṁ han-  
tum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhai | tayo vyatikramaṁ  
dṛishṭvā kruddhasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalātāj jātavān Sambhuḥ śūla-  
pāṇis trilochanaḥ | iṭhāṁ tāv api devēsau tvach-chharira-samudbhavau |  
tvan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārado 'bravīt | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā  
kratubhir bhūri-dakṣiṇaiḥ | iṣṭavāṁs tvam mahāsatraṁ Kṛishṇa Chait-  
rarathe vane | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛitāni vū | yūni  
karmāni deva tvam bālaḥ eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitarāṇ Puṇḍarikākṣha Bala-  
deva-sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasat saha | Vaiśam-  
pāyanaḥ uvācha | evam uktvā mahātmanam ūtmā Kṛishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ |  
tushṇīm āsit tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārdanaḥ | mamaiva tvam  
tavaivāhaṁ ye madhiyās tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ dveshti sa mām dveshti yas  
trām anu sa mām anu | Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy  
aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv rishī | ananyaḥ  
Pārtha mattas tvāṁ tvattat chūhaṁ tathaiva cha | nāvayor antaram śak-  
yaṁ veditum Bharatarshabha |*

“ ‘ At the end of the mundane period (yuga), thou, O Madhusūdana,

(Hṛidbhavo Brahmaṇo yo 'sau Dharmo divyavapuḥ sadā | tasya bhūryā tv Ahimsā tu  
tasyām ajanayat utau | Hariṁ Kṛishṇaṁ cha devareṣu Nara-Nārāyaṇau tathā |  
yogābhyūsa-ratau nityaṁ Hari-Kṛishṇau babhūvatuḥ).

<sup>224</sup> See also the extract from the Droṇa-parvan, translated above, p. 185.

<sup>225</sup> See above, p. 136.

vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the yuga, O Vārshneya (Kṛishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things movable and immovable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from thy (Kṛishṇa's) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Kṛishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puṇḍarikāksha, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmins in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Kṛishṇa, became silent. Then Janārdana (Kṛishṇa) thus addressed the son of Prithā: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine;<sup>226</sup> those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (*lit.* follows, or favours) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyaṇa: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Thou, son of Prithā, are not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.'"

Again, it is related in the Vana-parvan that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a

<sup>226</sup> The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz. those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.

Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim ; but Arjuna will not consent ; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (*na hy eṣo mṛigayā-dharmo yas trayā 'dya kṛito mayi*), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevaṁ Giriśaṁ śūlapāṇinam | dadarśa Phālgunaḥ tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyāṁ mahīm gatvā śirasā pranipaty cha | prasādayāmāsa Haraṁ Pārthaḥ para-puran-jayaḥ | Arjunaḥ uvācha |* “*Kapardīn sarvadeveṣa Bhagu-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-grīva jaṭā-dhara | kṛāṇānāṇcha paramaṁ jāne tvāṁ Tryambakaṁ vibhūṁ | devānāṇcha gatiṁ deva tvat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | ajeyas tvam tribhūḥ lokaiḥ sa-dēvasura-mānuṣhaiḥ | Sīvūya Viṣṇu-rūpūya Viṣṇave Sīva-rūpiṇe | Dakṣhayaḥna-vinūṣūya Hari-Rudrūya vai namaḥ | lalāṭākṣhūya Sarvūya mīlhushe śūlā-pāṇaye | pināka-goptre sūryūya mārjālīyāya vedhase | prasādaye tvāṁ bhagavan sarva-bhūta-maheśvara | gaṇeṣaṁ jagataḥ sambhūṁ loka-kāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-puruṣhātītāṁ purāṁ sūkṣmataram Haraṁ |*

“Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Prithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words : ‘God with the spirally-braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga’s eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the mighty, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras, and men. Adoration be to Sīva in the

form of Viṣṇu, to Viṣṇu in the form of Śiva, to the destroyer of Dakṣha's sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Śurva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the *Mārjalya*,<sup>227</sup> the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (i.e. ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Puruṣa (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.'"

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him :

1637 ff.—*Devadevaḥ uvācha | Naraś tvam pūrva-deho vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavān | Badaryāṁ taptavān ugraṁ tapo varshāyutān bahūn | tvayi vā pāramāṁ tejo Viṣṇau vā puruṣhottamo | yuvābhyāṁ puruṣhāgryābhyāṁ tejasū dhāryate jagat | Sakrābhishheke sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥśvanam | pragrihya dānavāḥ śāstās tvayā Kṛiṣṇena cha prabho ityādi |* "Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Viṣṇu the supreme Puruṣa. By you twain, the chief of men (or Puruṣas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Śakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastized by thee and Kṛiṣṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds."

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāsupata weapon (v. 1643), which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīṣma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

*Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmahaṁ | parivārya cha viśeṣaṁ paryāsata divaukasaḥ | teshāṁ manaś cha tejaschāpy adadānāv ivaujaśā | pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv riṣiḥ | Vṛihaspatir*

<sup>227</sup> This word is explained in Böttlingk and Roth's Lexicon as a spot to the right of the altar, where the sacrificial vessels are cleansed. It is mentioned in Śaṅkara's commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4: and (as Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me) it occurs in the Vāj. Sanh. v. 32, where the commentator defines it as the place where the (sacrificial) vessels are washed (*mārjalyaḥ | tatra hi pūtrāṇi prakahāyānte*).

tu paprachha Brahmāṇaṁ kāv imāv iti | bhavantaṁ nopatishkṛto tau naḥ  
 saṁsa Pitāmaha | Brahmā uvācha | yāv otau prithivīm dyāncha bhāsa-  
 yantau tapasvinau | jvalantau rochamanau cha vyāpyāṣṭau (-nau?) mahā-  
 balau | Nara-Nārāyaṇāv otau lokāl lokaṁ samāgṛhitau | ūrjitau svena  
 tapasā mahāsattva-parākramau | otau hi karmaṇā lokaṁ nandayāmasatur  
 dhruvam | dvīdhā-bhūtau mahā-prajñau viddhi brahman parantapau |  
 asurāṇāṁ vināśāya deva-gandharva-pūjitau | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha |  
 jagūma S'akras tach ohhrutvā yatra tau tepatas tapaḥ | sārḍhaṁ deva-  
 ganaiḥ sarvair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ | tadā devāsre yuddhe bhaye jāto  
 divaukasām | ayāchata mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇau varam | tāv abru-  
 tāṁ vṛiṇishveti tadā Bharata-sattama | athaitāv abravich ohhakraḥ  
 sahyāṁ naḥ kriyatām iti | tatas tau S'akram abrutām karishyāvo yad  
 ichhāsi | tūbhyāncha sahitaḥ S'akro vijigye daitya-dānavān | Naraḥ Indrasya  
 sangrāme hatvā śatrūn parantapaḥ | Paulomān Kālakanjāṁścha sahasrāṇi  
 śatāni cha | esha bhṛānte rathe tishṭhan bhallenāpāharach ohhiraḥ |  
 Jambhasya grasamāṇasya tadā hy Arjunam āhave | esha pāro samudrasya  
 Hiraṇyapuram ūrujat | jītvā shashṭīm sahasrāṇi Nivṛtakavachūn raṇe |  
 esha devān sahendrena jītvā para-puranjayaḥ | atarpayaḥ mahābāhur  
 Arjuno Jātavedasam | Nārāyaṇas tathaivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha |  
 evam etau mahā-vīryau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudevārjunau vīrau  
 samavetau mahārathau | Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau pūrva-devāv iti brutiḥ |  
 ujeṣau mūnuḥ loko sendrair api surāsuraik | esha Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ  
 Phālgunaś cha Naraḥ smṛitaḥ | Nārāyaṇo Naraś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ  
 dvīdhā-kṛitam | otau hi karmaṇā lokān āśnuvāto 'kṣayān dhruvān | tatra  
 tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kāle punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt karmaiva kartavyam  
 iti hovācha Nāradaḥ | etad hi sarvam āchashṭa Vṛishṇi-chakrasya veda-  
 vit | śankha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā drakshyasi Kēśavam | paryūda-  
 dānaṁ chāstrāṇi bhīma-dhanvānam Arjunam | sanātānau mahātmānau  
 kṛishṇāv eka-rathe sthitau | Duryodhana tadā tāta smṛitāsi vaohanam  
 mama |

“Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and surpassing gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vṛihaspati inquired of Brahmā, ‘Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahmā said: ‘These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading

and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, O Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.' Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vṛihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyaṇa a boon. They replied, 'Choose.' Then Indra said, 'Let us be delivered.' They answered Indra, 'We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,<sup>228</sup> who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiranyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyaṇa slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyaṇa is Kṛishṇa, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyaṇa and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two through their works pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born at different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishṇis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Kṛishṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 218.)

<sup>228</sup> The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parvan (vv. 3459-3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, Paraśu-rāma told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmins that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parvan, vv. 419 ff.:

*Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo 'py ātmā Kiriṭinaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityam Kṛishṇe kirtischa śāsvatī | sarvesho api cha lokeshu Dibhatsur aparajitaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishṭham ameyāḥ Keśave guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhano Kṛishṇam yo na vettiha Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena mrityu-pāśa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛishṇam Dāsārham Arjunaḥ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pūrva-devau mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekāt-mānau dvīdhā-bhūtau dṛiśyete mānushair bhūvi | manasā 'pi hi durdhar-shau senām etām yaśasvinau | nūśayetām ihechhantau mānushatvāch cha nechhataḥ |*

“Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kiriṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛishṇa the



Dāśarha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhishma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bhishma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Kṛishṇa's protection. To illustrate Kṛishṇa's divine greatness, Bhishma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the preservation of the world (2964 f.). Viṣṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.):

*Yat tat param bhavishyancha bhavitū yachha yat param | bhūtātma  
yah prabhuṣ chaiva Brahma yach cha param padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁ-  
vādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me  
jagat-patiḥ | "mānushaṁ lokam ātishṭha Vāsudevaḥ iti śrutaḥ | asurāṇām  
badhārthāya sambhavasva mahitale | sangrāme nihatāḥ ye te daitya-dānava-  
rākshasāḥ | te ime nrishu sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpāḥ mahūbalāḥ | teshām  
badhārtham bhagavān Nareṇa sahito bali | mānushīm yonim āsthāya cha-  
rishyasi mahi-tale" | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau |  
ajeyau hi raṇe yau tau sametair amarair api | sahitaṁ mānuṣhe loke  
sambhūtāv amita-dyuti | mūdhās te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṇāv  
ṛishi | yasyāham ātmajo Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo  
'muneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā manushyo 'yam iti kadāchit  
sura-sattamāḥ | nāvajneyo mahāvīryaḥ śankha-śakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat  
paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma  
etāt paramakaṁ yaśaḥ | etad aksharam avyaktam etach ohhāsvatam eva  
cha | etat Puruṣa-sanjño vai giyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ  
tejaḥ etat paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaṁ kīrtitaṁ Viśva-  
karmaṇā | tasmāt surāsuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendraiḥ chāmīta-vikramaḥ | navaj-  
neyo Vāsudevo mānuṣho 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānuṣha-mātro 'yam  
iti brūyāt sa manda-dhīḥ | Hṛishīkeśam avajñānāt tam āhuḥ puruṣādha-  
mam | taṁ yoginam mahātmanam pravishṭam mānushīm tanum | yo  
'vamanyed Vāsudevaṁ tam āhuḥ tūmasaṁ janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātma-*

*nam śrīvatsāṅkaṁ suvarochasam | padma-nābhaṁ na jānāti tam āhu-  
tāmasaṁ janāḥ | kirīṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrāṅgāṁ abhayankaram |  
avaśāṇaṁ mahātmānaṁ ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002 : Vārito 'si  
purā tāta munibhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | mā gachcha gaṁyugam tena Vāsu-  
devena dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaib sardham iti yat tat tvam mohād na budh-  
yase | manye tvāṁ Rākshasaṁ krūraṁ tathā chāsi tamo-vṛitāḥ | tasmād  
dviṣhasi Govindam Pāṇḍavancha Dhananjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṇav devau  
ko 'nyo dviṣhyād hi mānavaḥ |*

“That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall continue to be supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, O eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to show favour to the world: ‘Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.’ Those ancient and most excellent of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, O most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahmā, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hṛishīkeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudevā, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person

one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person a man full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness.”<sup>229</sup>

Bhīshma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3302): “Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: ‘Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.’ Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rākshasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Kṛishṇa) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?”

The next passage is from the Śānti-parvan, where Kṛishṇa, after describing many of his own other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

*Purā 'ham ālmajāḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntaro | Dharmasya Kuru-  
śārdūla tato 'haṁ Dharmajāḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvam tapas  
tepatuḥ aryayam | dharma-yūnaṁ samārūdhau parvate Gandhamādano |  
tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Dakṣa-yajno babbhūva ha | na chaivākālpayaḍ  
bhāgaṁ Dakṣo Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhichi-vachanād Dakṣa-  
yajnam apāharat | sasarja śulāṁ kopena prajvalantam muhur muhuḥ |  
tach chhūlam bhasmasūt kṛtvā Dakṣa-yajnaṁ sa-vistaram | āvayoḥ  
sahasū "gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad  
Nārāyaṇorasi | tatas tat-tejasā "viśṭāḥ keśūḥ Nārāyaṇasya ha | ba-  
bbhūruḥ munjavarnās tu tato 'ham munja-keśavān | tachcha śulāṁ vinirddh-  
ātāṁ hūmkāreṇa mahātmanā | jagāma Sankara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-  
samāhatam | atha Rudraḥ upādāvat tāv riśhiḥ tūpasā 'nvitau | tataḥ  
enaṁ samudbhūtaṁ kaṇṭho jagrāha pūṇinā | Nārāyaṇaḥ sa viśvātmā  
tenāsyā iti-kaṇṭhatā | atha Rudra-vighātārtham iśhikāṁ Naraḥ uddh-  
arat | mantraiḥ cha saṁyuyojāsu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | kṣiptas cha  
sahasā tena khaṇḍanam prāptavāṁs tadā | tato 'haṁ ['yam?] Khaṇḍa-  
paraśuḥ smṛitaḥ paraśukhaṇḍanāt | . . . 13278. tayoḥ saṁlagnayor  
yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyaṇātmanoḥ | udvignāḥ sahasā kṛtsnāḥ sarva-lokāḥ  
tadā 'bharan | nāgrihṇāt Pāvakaḥ śubhram makheṣu suhutaṁ haviḥ |*

<sup>229</sup> This passage seems to have a polemical aspect, as if aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Kṛishṇa.

*vodāḥ na pratibhānti sma ṛishinām bhāvitātmanām | devān rajas tamas  
 chaiva samāvivīṣitus tadā | vasudhā sanchakampo cha nabhas cha vipa-  
 phūta ha | nishprabhāni cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chaivāsana-chyutaḥ | agād  
 chhoṣhaṁ samudras cha Himavāṁś cha vyaśtryataḥ | tasminn eva samut-  
 panne nimitte Pāṇḍunandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-gaṇair ṛishibhiḥ cha  
 mahātmaabhiḥ | ājagāmāsūbhaṁ deśam yatra yuddham avartata | so  
 'njali-pragraho bhūtvā chatur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanaṁ  
 Rudraṁ "lokānam astu vai śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hita-  
 kāmyayā | yad aksharam athūvyaktam īśam lokasya bhāvanam | kūṣa-  
 sthaṁ kartṛi nirdvandvam akarteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gata-  
 syāsya ekā mūrtir iyam śubhā | Naro Nārāyaṇas chaiva jātau Dharma-  
 kulodvahanau | tapasā mahatā yuktau deva-śreṣṭhau mahā-vratau | aham  
 prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kāraṇāntare | tvam chaiva krodha-jas tūta  
 pūrva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā chu sārthaṁ varadāṁ vibudhaiḥ cha  
 maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāsu lokānāṁ śāntir bhavatu mā chiram" |  
 Brahmanā tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodhāgnim uterijan | prasādayā-  
 mūsa tato devāṁ Nārāyaṇam prabhum | śaranyāṁ cha jagāmādyāṁ  
 evarenyāṁ varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodho jīten-  
 dri-yaḥ | prītimān abhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha sangataḥ | ṛishibhir Bra-  
 hmanā chaiva vibudhaiḥ chu supūjitaḥ | uvācha devam īśanam īśaḥ sa  
 jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvām vetti sa mām vetti yas tvām anu sa mām anu |  
 nāvayor antaram kinchid mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti  
 śrīratsaḥ śulānto me bhavatu ayam | mama pāny-ankitas chāpi śrīkanṭhas  
 tram bhaviṣyasi" | evaṁ lakṣhaṇam utpādyā paraspara-kṛitam tadā |  
 sakhyāṁ chaivātulaṁ kṛtvā Rudreṇa sahitāu ṛishi | tapas tepatur avya-  
 grau viṛijya tridivaukasaḥ | eṣa te kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṇa-jayo  
 mṛidhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruktāni cha Bhārata | ṛishibhiḥ kathi-  
 tāniha yāni sankīrtitāni te | evam bahu-vidhaiḥ rūpāiḥ charāmīha  
 vasundharām | Brahma-lokancha Kaunteya golokanoha sanātanaṁ | mayā  
 tvam rakṣito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān jayam | yas tu te so 'grato  
 yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | tam viddhi Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-  
 devam kapardīnam | kālaḥ sa eva kathitaḥ krodhajeti mayā tava |  
 nihatās tena vai pūrvam hatavān asi yān ripūn | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ  
 tam deva-devam Umā-patim | namaśva devam prayato viśveśam Haram  
 akshayaṁ | ityādi |*

13265. "Formerly, son of Pṛithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was

called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyaṇa, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Dakṣha took place. Dakṣha did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhichi, swept away the sacrifice of Dakṣha, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Dakṣha with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyaṇa. The hair of Nārāyaṇa, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (*munju*): from which I am called Munjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of Śankara, when struck by Nārāyaṇa. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Śiva's) name of Śitikanṭha. Nara next raised a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khaṇḍana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu." Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict;<sup>230</sup> when Kṛishṇa proceeds: 13278. "When Rudra and Nārāyaṇa had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahmā fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries, with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, unaffected by pleasure or pain, and not the doer,—[this I say is

<sup>230</sup> See above, pp. 176 f.

one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyaṇa, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his good pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,<sup>221</sup> an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* favours) thee loves me.<sup>222</sup> There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrikanṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Pṛithā, which I have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyaṇa in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kuntī, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra, the god of gods, with spirally-braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Sānti-parvan, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Sveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyaṇa (v. 13337):

<sup>221</sup> See verses 13140 and 13145 of the S'anti-parvan, quoted below.

<sup>222</sup> A similar expression has already occurred above, p. 230.

*Nīpapāta cha khāt tūrṇaṁ viśālāṁ Vadarim anu | tataḥ sa dadṛśe  
devau purāṇāv rishi-sattamau | tapas̄ charantau sumahad ātma-niṣṭhau  
mahā-oratau | tejasā 'bhyadhikau sūryāt sarva-loka-virochanāt | śrīvatsa-  
lakṣhaṇau pūjyau jaṭā-maṇḍala-dhārinau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pāda-  
yos chakra-lakṣhaṇau | vyūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā muṣka-chatu-  
shkinau | śhaṣṭi-dantāv aṣṭa-dāśaṣṭrau meghaughā-saḍṛśa-svanau |  
svāsyau prithulalātau cha subhṛū su-hanu-nāsikau | ātapatreṇa saḍṛśe  
śirasī devayos tayoh | svām-lakṣhaṇa-sampannau mahā-puruṣa-saṁjñitau |  
tau dṛiṣṭvā Nārado hṛiṣṭas tābhyāṁ cha pratipūjitah | svāgatenābhi-  
bhāṣhyātha pṛiṣṭas chānāmayaṁ tathā | babhūvāntargata-matir ni-  
rikṣhya puruṣhottamau |*

"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Sveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Sveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*āvayoh prakṛtiḥ parā*). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanau | yair lakṣhaṇair upetaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair lakṣhaṇair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dhārau yuvām | dṛiṣṭvau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya parśvataḥ*). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his *Indian Antiquities*, 1st ed., i. 621 f., and note, p. 622; 2nd ed., pp. 768 ff.<sup>235</sup>) Kṛishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To show how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Paṇḍus, aided as the latter were by Kṛishṇa, Dhṛitarashṭra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

<sup>235</sup> His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand, victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text) he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherds' wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nānda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the gopas of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.--See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Droṇa-parvan, vv. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kāmbojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karna, etc. (*Nārāyaṇas' cha gopulāḥ Kāmbojanāncha ye gaṇāḥ | Karṇena vijitāḥ |*)

The Nārāyaṇas are also mentioned in the Droṇap. 752 and 759 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v.).

Kṛishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice:

Udyoga-parvan, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-saṁkhanana-tulyānām\* gopānām arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṇaḥ iti khyātāḥ sarvāḥ saṅgrāma-yodhināḥ | te vā yudhā durādharāḥ bhavanti ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānāḥ saṅgrāme nyastāśastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyaṁ anyatarām Pūrtha yat te hṛidyatarām matam | tad vṛiṇītūm bhavūm agre pravūṛyas tvam hi dharmataḥ |* "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men; or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Prithā, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Kṛishṇa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (*Nārāyaṇam amitraghaṇm kāmāḥ jñitam ajam nṛiṣhu*), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

\* The word *saṁkhanana* occurs also in the Droṇa-parvan, v. 147.



Droṇa-parvan, 382.—*Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | śrinu divyāni karmāṇi*  
*Vāsudevasya Sanjaya | kṛitavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyaḥ pumān*  
*kvachit | saṁvardhatā gopa-kule bālenaiva mahātmanā | vikhyāpitam*  
*balam bāhoḥ trishu lokeshu Sanjaya | Uchchhaiḥśravas-tulya-balaṁ vāyu-*  
*vega-samaṁ jave | jaghāna Haya-rājānaṁ Yamunū-vana-vāsinam | Dāna-*  
*vaṁ ghora-karmāṇaṁ gavūm mṛityum ivottthitam | vṛiṣha-rūpa-dharam*  
*bālye bhujābhyūṁ nijaghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham*  
*Piṣhaṁ vā 'pi mahāsuram | Muraṁ chāmara-sankāśam abadhīḥ pushka-*  
*rekshaṇaḥ | tathā Kāmso mahātejaḥ Jarāsandhena palitāḥ | vikrameṇaiva*  
*Kṛiṣṇena saṅgaṇaḥ pātito rane | Sunāmā rana-vikrāntaḥ samagrākṣau-*  
*hīnī-patiḥ | Bhaja-rājasya madhya-atko bhrātā Kāṁsasya vīryavān |*  
*Baladava-dvītyena Kṛiṣṇenāmītra-ghātinaḥ | tarasvī samare dagdhaḥ sa-*  
*sainyaḥ Sūrusena-rāḥ | Durvāsūḥ nāma viprasaḥ tathā parama-*  
*kopanaḥ | ūrādhitāḥ sadareṇa sa chāsmai pradadau varūn | tathā Gāndhāra-*  
*rājasya sūtūṁ vīraḥ svayaṁvare | nirjitya pṛithivī-pālān āvahaḥ pushka-*  
*rekshaṇaḥ | amṛiṣhyamānūḥ rājāno yasya jūtyāḥ hayāḥ iva | rathe vai-*  
*vāhike yuktāḥ pratodena kṛīta-vraṇāḥ | Jarāsandham mahābāhum upā-*  
*yena Janārdunaḥ | pareṇa ghātayāmāsa samagrākṣauhīnī-patim | Chedi-*  
*rajāncha vikrāntaṁ rāja-senā-patim bali | arghe vivadamānancha jaghāna*  
*paśu-rat tadā | Saubhaṁ daitya-puraṁ svasthaṁ Sūlva-guptaṁ durā-*  
*sadam | samudra-kuṁbhau vikramya pātayāmāsa Mādhaḥ | . . . . .*  
 400: *Praviśya makarāvāsāṁ yādobhir abhisaṁvṛitam | jigāya Varu-*  
*ṇaṁ sankhye salilāntargatam purā | yudhi Panchajanyaṁ hatvā pātāla-*  
*tala-vāsinam | panchajanyaṁ Hṛiṣhīkeśo divyāṁ śankham avāptavān |*  
*Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutūśanam | āgneyam astraṁ dur-*  
*dharaḥ śakraṁ lebbe mahābalaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya trāsayitvā*  
*'marāvatiṁ | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraḥ pārijātam upānayati | tachoḥa*  
*marshitavān Sakro jūnaṁs tasya parākramaṁ | rājnāṁ chāpy ajitāṁ*  
*kanchit Kṛiṣṇaṇeḥ na sūsruma | yachoḥa tad mahad āścharyaṁ sabhāyām*  
*mama Sanjaya | kṛitavān Puṇḍarikākṣaḥ kas tad-anya iḥārhati | labdha-*  
*bhaktiā prasanno 'ham adrākṣaṁ Kṛiṣṇam īśvaram | tad me suviditāṁ*  
*sarvam pratyakṣam iva chāgamam | nūntāṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhya*  
*yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmaṇū śūkyate gantuṁ Hṛiṣhīkeśasya Sanjaya |*  
*tathā Gadaś cha Sambaścha Pradyumno 'tha Vidārathaḥ | . . . . .*  
 410: *Ete 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛiṣṇī-vīraḥ prahariṇaḥ | kathānohit*  
*Pāṇḍavānikāṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | dhūtāḥ Vṛiṣṇī-vīreṇa Keśavena*  
*mahātmānā | tataḥ saṁsayitāṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-*

*balo viraḥ Kailāsa-sikharopamaḥ | vana-mālī hālī Rāmas tatra yatra Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuḥ sarva-pīlaraṁ Vāsudevaṁ devjātayaḥ | api vā hy eṣa Pāṇḍunām yotsyate 'rthāya Sanjaya | sa yadā tāta sannāhyot Pāṇḍa-vārthāya Sanjaya | na tadā pratīcāmyoddhā bhavitā tasya kṣaṇena | yadi sma Kuravaḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavān | Vārshneyo 'rthāya teṣhām vai grīhṇiyāt śāstram uttamam | tataḥ sarvān naravyāghro hatvā nara-patīm raṇe | Kauravaṁś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntīai dadyāt sa medinīm | yasya yantā Hṛīṣhīkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayaḥ | rathasya tasya kaḥ sankhye pratyāniko bhaved rathaḥ | na kenachid upāyena Kurūṇām drīṣyate jayaḥ | tasmād me sarvam āchakṣhva yathā yuddham avartata |*<sup>244</sup>

“Dhṛitarāshṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛishṇa, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Uccaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Piṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarā-sandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Kṛishṇa, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Sūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Kṛishṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhman rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Kṛishṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.<sup>245</sup> So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gāndhāras at the Swa-yamvara:<sup>246</sup> and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

<sup>244</sup> Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: *Pakvānām hi badhe Sūta vajrāyante triṇāny api |* “When men are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts.”

<sup>245</sup> See the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 196.

<sup>246</sup> Lassen, Ind. Alt. i., 622, first edition (p. 769, second edition), note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gāndhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colabrooke's *Essays*, i. 46, and the second volume of this work, p. 353.

yoked like highbred horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.<sup>237</sup> This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 215), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Kṛishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Śālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by Kṛishṇa.] . . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajanya dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pāṇchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha (the son of Prithā, Arjuna), propitiated Agni in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.<sup>238</sup> Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvati (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.<sup>239</sup> And to this Śakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Kṛishṇa. Then who but Puṇḍarikāksha could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Kṛishṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the limit of Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sūmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vṛishṇi tribe, summoned by the great Vṛishṇi hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pāṇḍavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for

<sup>237</sup> See the story as told in the Sabhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.

<sup>238</sup> Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.

<sup>239</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 585 ff. (vol. v., pp. 97 ff., of Dr. Hall's ed.).

the Pāṇḍavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pāṇḍavas, Vārshneya (Kṛishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and tiger-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kuntī. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hrishikēśa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 235, *Arjunaḥ Kēśavasyūtmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Kēśava," etc.

Another account of Kṛishṇa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parvan. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāṇḍus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Kṛishṇa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Kṛishṇa (vv. 1875 ff.):

*Pūrvāhne mām kṛita-japyam kadāchid viprah provāchodakānte manojnam | kartavyam te dushkaram karma Pārtha yodhavyam te śatrubhiḥ Savyasāchin | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastah purastād yātu samare 'rīn vinighnan | Sugrīva-yuktena rathena vā te paśchāt Kṛishṇo rakshatu Vāsudevaḥ | vavre chūham vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaḥ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhūya Kṛishṇo manye chaṭatad vihitam daivatair me | sa bāhubhyām sūgarām uttīrshed mahodadhiḥ salīlasyāpramoyam | tejāvinuḥ Kṛishṇam atyantā-śūram yuddhena yo Vāsudevaḥ jigīshet | giriḥ sa ichhet tu talena bhettuḥ śilochayam śvetam atipramāṇam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśtryed na chāpi kinchet sa gīres tu kuryāt | agniḥ samiddhaḥ samayed bhujābhyām chandrancha sūryancha nivārayeta | hared devānām amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaḥ jigīshet | yo Rukmiṇīm eka-rathena Bhojān utsādyā rājnah samare prasahya | uvāha bhāryām yaśasā jvalantiṁ yasyām jajne Raupya-mineyo mahātmā | ayaḥ Gāndhārīs tarasā sampramathya jīvā putrān Nagnajitah samagrān | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanam vai devatānām lalāmam | ayaḥ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaḥ tathā*

*Kalingān Dantakūre mamarda | anena dagdhā varsha-pūgān anāthā  
 Vārāṇasī nagarī sambabhūva | ayaṁ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajayaṁ  
 tam Ekalavyaṁ nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhāḥ  
 śete sa Kṛishṇena hatāḥ parāsurā | tathograsenasya eutaṁ suduḥṣṭam  
 Vṛishṇy-Andhakānām madhya-gataṁ sabhā-stham | apātayaḍ Baladeva-  
 dvitīyo hatvā dadau ohograsenāya rājyam | ayaṁ Saubhāṁ yodhayāmāsa  
 evastham vibhīshaṇam māyayā Sālva-rājam | Saubha-dvāri pratya-  
 grihāt śataghnīm dordhyāṁ kaḥ enaṁ visaheta martyaḥ | Prāgyotishāṁ  
 nāma babbhūva durgam puraṁ ghoram Asurānām asahyam | mahābalo  
 Narakas tatra Bhaumo jahārādityāḥ maṇi-kundale śubhe | na taṁ devāḥ  
 saha Śakraṇa śekuḥ samāgatāḥ yudhi mṛityor abhitāḥ | dṛishṭvā cha taṁ  
 vikramaṁ Keśavasya balaṁ tathaivāstram avāraṇyam | jānanto 'sya  
 prakṛitiṁ Keśavasya nyayojayan dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇam | sa tat karma  
 pratishṭrūta duḥkaram aśvaryaṁ siddhiḥ Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochana  
 śaḥ sahasrāṇi hatvā sanchhidya pāsān sahasā kshurāntān | Murāṁ  
 hatvā vinihatyauḥa-rakṣo nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma viraḥ | tatraiva  
 tenāsyā babbhūva yuddham mahābalenātibalasya Viṣṇoḥ | śete sa Kṛishṇena  
 hatāḥ parāsur vāteneva mathitāḥ karṇikūrah | āhṛitya Kṛishṇo maṇi-  
 kundale te hatvā cha Bhaumaṁ Narakam Murancha | śrīyā vṛito yaśasā  
 chaiva vidvān pratyājagāmāpratima-prabhāvaḥ | asmai varūn adadaṁs  
 tatra devāḥ dṛishṭvā bhīmaṁ karma kṛitaṁ raṇe tat | "śramas cha te  
 yudhyamānasya na syād ākāśe chāpeu cha te kramaḥ syūt | śastrāṇi  
 gūtro na cha te kramerann" ity eva Kṛishṇas cha tataḥ kṛitārthaḥ |  
 evaṁ-rūpe Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṇa-sampat sadaiva | tam asa-  
 hyaṁ Viṣṇum ananta-vīryam āśaṁśate Dhātardāśtro vijetum |*

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words: 'Son of Prithā, thou hast a difficult work to\*do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, O Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Kṛishṇa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?' I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kṛishṇa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods." That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer

in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kṛiṣṇa. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Rāukmīṇeya was born. He (Kṛiṣṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.<sup>240</sup> He slew Pāṇḍya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares, which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He regarded Ekalavya the king of the Nishāḍas as invincible by others in battle, [but slew him], having smitten him furiously with a rock. Jambha sleeps, bereft of life by Kṛiṣṇa.<sup>241</sup> Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Vṛiṣṇis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (i.e. flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Śālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon Śataghni :<sup>242</sup> what mortal can assail him? There was an im-

<sup>240</sup> One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānāṃ lālāman* by *devatānāṃ madhye pratistam*, "approved among the gods." Another commentator says *lālāman* = *śiromāṇim*, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādharma also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Kṛiṣṇa's foot.

<sup>241</sup> The construction and sense of this verse are not very clear.

<sup>242</sup> A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See also Williams's Sanskrit English Dictionary, s.v., and the end of note 189, page 191, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying (*kāmagā*) city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parvan. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615-635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636-689. Kṛiṣṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 683), and kills the king of the Śālvas himself (v. 685).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615, first ed., p. 761, second ed.

pregnable, formidable, and unassailable castle of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotiṣa. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.<sup>243</sup> The assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Kṛishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryaṇ siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the city Nirmochana slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,<sup>244</sup> having slain Mura and the Rākshasa Ogha, he proceeded to Nirmochana.<sup>245</sup> There Viṣṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Kṛishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a karnikāra<sup>246</sup> tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Kṛishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Kṛishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is always an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Viṣṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarāṣṭra hopes to overcome."

<sup>243</sup> The story of this demon is told in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff., or vol. v., pp. 87 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.

<sup>244</sup> These nooses are also mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation, as in the last note) and in the Harivamśa, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii., p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Sohlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Varuṇa-pāśa*. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet *kharuṇta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Kṛishṇa's discus.

<sup>245</sup> See verse 4407 of this same parvan; *Nirmochane śaṭṣaṣaṁ ūḥ pāśair baddhūḥ mahāsurāḥ* | This line evidently contains an allusion to the same story as is referred to in the text; and from a comparison of both passages I infer that Nirmochana is the name of a place. Bohtlingk and Roth s. v. do not recognize this signification.

<sup>246</sup> *Pterospermum acerifolium*.

It will be noticed that Krishna is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not consistently have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parvan describes Krishna as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishna, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit the Pāṇḍavas in the forest; and as he showed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurns, Arjuna, to appease him, related (needlessly, one would think, if he was regarded as the Supreme Deity) his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjunaḥ uvācha | Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi yatra Sāyangriho muniḥ | vyacharas tvam purū Kṛishṇa parvate Gandhamādane | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi daśa-varsha-śatāni cha | pushkareṣu avasaḥ Kṛishṇa tvam apo bhakshayan purū | ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyām Vadaryam Madhusūdana | atishṭhaḥ eka-pādena vāyu-bhakṣhaḥ śatam samāḥ | avakṛishṭottarāsangaḥ kṛiṣo dhamani-santataḥ | āsiḥ Kṛishṇa Sarasvatyām satre dvādaśa-vārshiko | Prabhāsam apy athāsādya tirtham punya-janochitam | tathā Kṛishṇa mahātejūḥ divyaṁ varsha-sahasrikam (sic) | atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena niyama-sthitāḥ | loka-pravṛitti-hetoḥ tvam iti Vyāso mamūbravīt | kṣhetra-jñaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ ādir antaḥ cha Kṛiṣaḥ | nidhānam tapasām Kṛishṇa yajnas tvam cha sanātanaḥ | nilatya Narakam Bhaumam ūhṛitya maṇi-kundale | prathamotpāditaṁ Kṛishṇa medhyam āsvam avāsrijāḥ | kṛitvā tat karma lokānāṁ ṛishabhaḥ sarva-loka-jit | abadhie tvūṁ raṇe sarvān sametān daitya-dānavān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ cha sampradāya Śachi-pateḥ | mūnusheshu mahābāho prādurbhūto 'si Kṛiṣaḥ | sa tvam Nārāyaṇo bhūtvā Harir āsiḥ parantapa | Brahmā Somaḥ cha Sūryaḥ cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nalaḥ | Vāyur Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kālāḥ kham prithivī diśaḥ | ajaḥ chaśāchara-guruḥ vrashtū tvam puruṣottama | parāyagaṁ devam ūrdhvaṁ kratubhir Madhusūdana | ayajo bhūri-tejūḥ vai Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | śataṁ śata-sahasrāṇi svavarnasya Janūrdana | ekaikasmims tadā yajne puripūrnāni bhāgasaḥ | . . . Sūditāḥ Mauravāḥ pāsāḥ Nisunda-Narakau hatāu | kṛitāḥ kṣemaḥ punaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāgyotisham prati | Jarāthyām Ahṛitīḥ Krāthāḥ Śikṣupūlo janaiḥ saha | Jarāśandhaḥ cha Saivyaḥ cha Śatadhanvā cha nirjitāḥ | tathā Parjanya-*



*ghoshena rathenāditya-varchasā | avāpsir mahishīm bhojyām rāṇe nirjitya  
Rukminīm | Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanas̄ cha Kaserumān | hataḥ  
Saubha-patiḥ Śālvas̄ tvayā Saubhaḥ cha pātitaḥ | Irāvatyām hato  
Bhojaḥ Kārtavīrya-samo yudhi | Gopatis̄ Tālaketuḥ cha tvayā vimihātāv  
ubhau | tāṁ cha Bhogavatīm punyām Rishikām tāṁ Janārdana | Dvā-  
rakām ātmasāt kṛtvā samudraṁ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha  
mātsaryām nānṛitam Madhusūdana | tvayi tishṭhati Dāśārha na nṛisat-  
hyām kuto 'nṛjūḥ | āsīnaḥ chaitya-madhye tvām dīpyamānaḥ sva-tejasā |  
āgamyā rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantūbhayaṁ Achyuta |*

Vana-parvan, 471. "Formerly, Krishna, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādan, where the muni Sāyangriha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest glorious, Krishna, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, O great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyaṇa, wert Hari, O vexer of thy foes. Thou, O Puru-shottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhātṛi, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Krishna, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 136, beginning *Aditer api putratvam*, and ending *nihatāḥ śataśo 'surāḥ*]. The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and

Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthi Āhvriti, Krātha, Sisupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Satadhanvan<sup>247</sup> were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 215.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Sālva, the lord of Saubha; and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārtavīrya<sup>248</sup> in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvati, as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāsārha (Krishna): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the Chaitya (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thy own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 229, beginning *Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya*, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Krishna is generally identified with Vishṇu, and Vishṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishna is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Suka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Vishṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrāṁśenāvatiṛṇasya Viṣṇor viryāṇi śaṁsa naḥ | avatīrya Yadōr vaṁśe bhagavān bhūta-bhāvanah | kṛitavān yāni viśvātmā tāni no vada vistarāt*). Suka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Vishṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky :

<sup>247</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 428 ff. (vol. iv. pp. 80 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.)

<sup>248</sup> See the first volume of this work, pp. 450 ff.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—*Giraṁ samādhou gagane samīritāṁ  
 nīṣamya Vedhās tridaśān uvācha ha | gāṁ pauruṣhīm me śṛiṇutāmarāḥ  
 punar vidhīyatām āsu tathaiva māchiram | puraiva puṁsā (Īṣareṇa,  
 Comm.) 'vadhṛito dhaṛā-jvaro bhavadbhir aṁśair Yaduśūpajanyatām |  
 sa yāvad urvyāḥ bharam īṣareśvaraḥ sva-kāla-śaktiā kṣhapayamś chared  
 bhuvi | Vasudeva-grihe sūkṣhād bhagavān Puruṣhaḥ paraḥ | janishyate  
 tat-priyūrthaṁ sambhavantu sura-striyaḥ | Vāsudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sa-  
 haśra-vadanah svarāt | agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chikīrṣhaya |  
 Viṣṇor māyā bhagavati yayā sammohitaṁ jagat | ādiṣṭā prabhūṇā  
 'mśena kāryārthe sambhaviṣhyati |*

“Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: ‘Hear from me, immortals, the voice of Puruṣha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Puruṣha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Puruṣha shall be born in his own person (sūkṣhāt) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vāsudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Viṣṇu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects.”

In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Viṣṇu is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur :

*Nripānāṁ kathitaḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistaraḥ | Vaṁśānucharitaṁ  
 chaiva yathāvad anuvarṇitam | Aṁśavatāro brahmarṣhe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-  
 kulodbhavaḥ | Viṣṇos taṁ vistareṇāhaṁ śrotum ichohhāmy aśeṣataḥ |  
 Chakāra yāni karmāṇi bhagavān Puruṣhottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśenāvātīryor-  
 vyāṁ tatra tāni mune vada | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | Maitreya śrūyatām  
 etad yat priṣṭho 'ham iha tvayā | Viṣṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitaṁ  
 jagato hitam |*

“You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Viṣṇu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts

the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion of a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies: 'Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṇu.'"

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 493-497; pp. 249 ff. of the 4th vol. of Dr. Hall's ed.) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons also had been born as princes; so that she had to bear upon her surface many hosts of strong and haughty Daitya chiefs wearing celestial forms; and that she could not support the load. (V.P. v. 1. 12. *Etasminn eva kāle tu bhūri-bhārā-vapīḍitā | jagāma dharaṇī Merau samāje tridivaukasām | . . . . .* 25 | *akshauhinyo hi bahulāḥ divya-mūrti-dhritāḥ surāḥ | mahābalānām dṛiptānām daityendrūnām mamopari | \* tad-bhūri-bhāra-pīḍartā na śaknomy amareśvarāḥ | vibhartum ātmanā 'tmānam iti vijnāpayāmi vaḥ | kriyatām tat mahābhāgāḥ mama bhūrāvātāraṇam | yathā rasātalaṁ nāhaṁ gachheyam ativihvalā*).<sup>240</sup> Brahmā proposed that they should

<sup>240</sup> The Greek writers, too, speak of the earth being burthened, but from a different cause, viz. with the load of men, and that Jupiter brought about the Trojan war for her relief. In the *Helena* of Euripides, vv. 38 ff., it is said: Πόλεμον γὰρ εἰσήμεγκεν Ἑλλήνων χθονὶ καὶ Φρυγί δυστήνοισιν, ὥς ἔχλου βροτῶν Πλήθους τε κουφίσει μητέρα χθόνα, Γνωτὸν τε θείῃ τῶν κρείτιστον Ἑλλάδος. "For he brought on a war between the land of the Greeks and the unhappy Phrygians, that he might relieve mother Earth of the crowd and multitude of mortals, and make known the bravest man in Greece."

Similarly in the *Orestes* of the same author, vv. 1639 ff., it is said: Ἐπεὶ θεοὶ τῷ τῆσδε καλλιστεύματι Ἑλλήνας εἰς ἔν καὶ Φρύγας συνήγαγον, θανάτους τ' ἔθηκαν, ὥς ἀπαντοίῃεν χθονὸς Ἐθρίσμα θνητῶν ἀφθόνου πληρώματος. "Since the gods by means of her beauty brought the Greeks and Phrygians into conflict, and occasioned deaths, in order that they might remove from the Earth the grievance of being superabundantly replenished with mortals."

And in the *Scholia Minora* on the *Iliad*, i. 5 (quoted in Heyne's *Homer*, Oxford, 1821), we read: Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τινος ἔπουν εἰρηκεῖναι τὸν Ὀμηρον φασὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθείας, μηδεμίᾳ ἀνθρώπων δυσχερὲς εὐσεβείας, αἰτῆσαι τὸν Δία κουφισθῆναι τοῦ ἔχθους. Τὸν δὲ Δία, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθὺς ποιῆσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον, δι' οὗ πολλοὺς πάνιν ἀπωλέσεν. ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν συμβούλῃ τῷ Μῶμῳ ἐχρήσατο, ἣν Διὸς βουλὴν Ὀμηρὸς φησιν. ἐπειδὴ οἷός τε ἦν κεραυνοῖς ἢ κατακλυσμοῖς πάντας διαφθεῖραι, τοῦτο τοῦ Μῶμου κωλύσαντος, ὁπότε μόνου δὲ αὐτῷ γράμας δύο, τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν, καὶ θυγατρὸς καλὴν γίνεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ἡμιποτέρων πόλεμος ἔλλοισι τε καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, οὕτω συμβῆναι κουφισθῆναι τὴν γῆν, πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Στασίῳ τῷ τὰ Κόρυμβά πεποιηκότι, εἰπόντι οὕτως: Ἦν οὐτε μυρία φύλα κατὰ χεῖρα πλαζόμενα Βαθυστέρου

resort to Vishnu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a very small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (v. 32. *sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jaganmayaḥ | svalpāmsend-avātīryorvyāṁ dharmasya kurute sthitim*). The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishnu in a long hymn. Vishnu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

58. *Evam sañstūyamānas tu bhagavān paramesvaraḥ | Ujjahūrātmanaḥ keśau sita-kriṣṇau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tale | Avātīrya bhuvō bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Surāścha sakalāḥ scāmsair avātīrya mṛhītale<sup>250</sup> | Kurvantu yuddham unmattaiḥ pūrvoṭpannair mahāsuraibḥ | Tataḥ kṣayam aśeshās te Daiteyaḥ dharanī-tale | Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-drik-pāta-vickūrṇitāḥ | Vasudevasya yā patnī Devakī devatopamā | Tasyāyam aśṭamo garbho<sup>251</sup> mat-keśo bhavitā surāḥ | Avātīrya cha tatrayām<sup>252</sup> Kāṁsam ghātayitā bhuvī |*

πλάτος αἴης. Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, καὶ ἐν πυκιναῖς πρῶπιδεσσι Σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβότορα γαῖαν, Ῥείσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλιδκοιοῖ. Ὅφρα κενώσκειεν θανάτῳ βῆρος· οἱ δ' ἐν Τροίῃ Ἡρώες κτείνοντο. Διὸς δὲ τελέετο βουλή.

"Others have declared that Homer used the expression (Διὸς δὲ τελέετο βουλή) 'And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled') in consequence of a certain history. For they relate that the Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of men, among whom there was no piety, prayed to Zeus to be relieved of the burthen; and that he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed very many. Afterwards he employed Momus as his counsellor, (an act) which Homer calls 'Zeus's consultation.' When he could have destroyed the whole of mankind by his thunderbolts or by deluges, but was dissuaded from doing so by Momus, who suggested two plans, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal, and the generation of a beautiful daughter, in consequence of which two events a war was occasioned between the Greeks and Barbarians,—it thus came to pass that the Earth was lightened, many being slain. The history is found in Stasius, who composed the Cypria, and who speaks as follows: 'There was a time when myriads of races wandered over the Earth, on the breadth of the deep-bosomed land. But Zeus, beholding, pitied her, and in his wise mind resolved to relieve the all-nurturing Earth of [the load of] men, by exciting the great strife of the Ilian war, in order that by slaughter he might clear away the burthen: and the heroes were slain in the Troad. And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled.'" See also above, p. 215, note 212; and Drogan., 2051 f.

<sup>250</sup> Another MS. reads *mahītalam*.

<sup>251</sup> Another MS. reads *eka garbho 'shṭamas tasyāḥ*.

<sup>252</sup> Another MS. reads *tatrāham*.

*Kālanemiṁ samudbhūtam ityuktvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adṛityāya tatas  
tasmai prazipatyā mahāmuno | Meru-prishṭham suraḥ jagmur avatoru  
cha bhūtale |*

"Being thus lauded, the divine Parameśvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who were formerly born. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devakī) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kausa, the Kālanemi who has been born.' Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth."

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishnu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also :

"*Chākāra*" iti | *tatra Kṛishṇāvatāre ati-paricchinna-manushyākāra-  
līlā-vigraheṇāvirbhāvād aṁsāṁsena ity uktam upaohārāt | na tu śakti-  
hrāseṇa Kṛishṇādy-avatāreṣu api viśva-rūpa-darśana-sarvavaiśvady-  
ukteḥ | Nanu aṁsino 'ṁśoddhāreṇa śakty-ādi-hrāsaḥ tathā 'ṁśasyāpi tad-  
apekṣhya alpa-śaktitvādikaṁ dhūnya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāgaḥ iva prasajyeta iti  
ched na | prakāśa-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpānta-  
rasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrṇam adaḥ  
pūrṇam idam pūrṇāt pūrṇam udachyate | pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya  
pūrṇam evaśiṣhyate"* itī śruteḥ | "*param Brahma narakṛitī gūḍham  
param Brahma manushya-lingaṁ Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam*" ityādi  
vākyebhyaś cha | *yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-tale" ity-ādāv "ayaṁ  
Kāmeṣāṁ ghātayitā" ity atra keśa-vyapadeśāḥ sa Brahmanāḥ paripūr-  
ṇasya bhū-bhāra-haraṇa-rūpaṁ kāryam aty-alpa-yantra-sādhyaṁ iti  
khyāpayitūṁ na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Kṛishṇatvaṁ vaktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayor  
tad-dehakahetrajñatvābhāvena tat-kāryaṁ kartum aśaktatvāt | keśātma-  
kāyayodbhava-Rāma-Kṛishṇa-dehāv āditya [āviśya ?] bhagavān eva tat  
tat karishyati iti ched om iti brāmaḥ phalato 'viśeshāt"" kṛishṇāśṭfamyāṁ  
aham niti" itī svayam evoktatoḥ cha ity alaṁ viśtareṇa |*

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shown himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a seeming difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094 = Brih. Āraṇyaka Upan. beginning of adhyāya 7, p. 948 of ed. in Bibliotheca Ind.), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;' <sup>233</sup> and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛishṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the

<sup>233</sup> See Dr. Roer's translation of this verse, with his explanatory note at p. 247 of the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii., part iii. The Commentary on the verse in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 1157 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse, x. 8, 29: *Pūrṇat pūrṇam udaśeti pūrṇam pūrṇena śichyate | uo tad adya vidyūma yatas tat parishichyate* | "He takes a full from a full: the full is sprinkled with the full: and may we to-day know that from which that is sprinkled."

eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity."<sup>254</sup>

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text :<sup>255</sup>

*Ujjahāra | utpāṣṭitavān | ayam bhūvaḥ | mama āśhkaṛaṁ oheḍ yush-  
mābhiḥ sāhāyyaṁ kāryaṁ syāt | na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharaṇādan  
mahaty api kārye mat-keṣa-mātrasyaiva samarihatvād iti | na tu keṣa-  
mātravatāraḥ iti mantavyam | "mad-āṅik-pāta-vichārṇitaḥ" "kṛish-  
ṇāshṭamyām aham utpatsyāmi" ityādiṣhu sākṣāt svavatāratvoktēḥ | sita-  
kṛishṇa-keśoddhāraṇaṁ cha tobhārīham eva | "Ujjahāra means that he  
'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows : 'It would be a  
difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you : but the same  
is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing  
the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But  
it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation  
of the mere hairs ; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the  
words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the  
eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc., etc. The mention  
of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of  
ornament."<sup>256</sup>*

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parvan, 7306 ff. :

*Tair eva sārḍhaṁ tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam |  
anantam avyaktam ajam purāṇaṁ sanātanaṁ viśvam ananta-rūpam | sa  
chāpi tad vyadadhāt sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvur dharanyām |  
sa chāpi keśau Harir udcavarha śuklam ekam aparāṁ chāpi kṛishṇam |  
tau chāpi keśau nivīṣetāṁ Yadunāṁ kule striyau Devakīm Rohiṇīm cha |  
taylor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau śvetas tasya devasya keśaḥ | Kṛishṇo  
dviṭīyaḥ Keśavaḥ sambabhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇataḥ kṛishṇaḥ uktaḥ |*

"Along with them (viz. four preceding Indras and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyaṇa, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless

<sup>254</sup> The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

<sup>255</sup> I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

<sup>256</sup> See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, viz. in p. 492, and in p. 497 (pp. 247 and 258, vol. v., of Dr. Hall's ed.).



in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohiṇī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṇa*) in colour, became Kṛishṇa, Keśava."

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nīlakaṇṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata:

*Atra keśāv eva reto-rūpau Pāṇḍavānām iva Bāma-Kṛishṇayor api prakaraṇa-sangaty-arthaṁ sākṣhād deva-retasaḥ utpatiter avaktavyatvāt*<sup>257</sup> | *ataḥ eva Devakyām Rohiṇyāṁcha sākṣhāt keśa-praveśaḥ uchyate na tu Vasudeve | tathā sati tu "devānāṁ reto varshaṁ varshasya retaḥ ośadhayaḥ" ityādi-śrauta-pranūdyā 'smad-ādi-vat tayoḥ api vyavahānena deva-prabhavatvaṁ syāt | tathā cha "etan nāna-vatārāṇāṁ nidhānaṁ vijam avyayam" iti bhagavataḥ sākṣhād mātṛyādy-avatāra-vijatvam uchyamanāṁ virudhyeta | apiccha keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retaḥ-prabhavatve 'rvākerotastvena manushyatvam putratvaṁ cha syāt | tathā cha "Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ sangachhate | na cha keśoddhāraṇāt Kṛishṇasyāpy aṁśatvam pratiyato iti vāchyam | keśasya dehāvayavatvābhāvāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhō kartavyo yathā apām phens vajrasya praveśaḥ evaṁ Devakī-Rohiṇyor jāḥare praveśe kartavyo keśadevayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārtyayena eva āvirbhāvāḥ eśajavyaḥ iti yuktaṁ |*

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṇī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the process of derivation described in the Veda, that 'rain is the seed of the gods, and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'<sup>258</sup>—it would be opposed to that

<sup>257</sup> The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads *avaśya-avaktavyatvāt* |

<sup>258</sup> I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a metrical quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Kṛishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Kṛishṇa also is shown to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a part of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt [of Indra] entered into the foam of the waters,<sup>300</sup> so when an entrance

<sup>300</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Anfrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz. that mentioned in R.V. viii. 14, 13: *Apām phenena Namucheḥ śiraḥ Indrodavartayaḥ | viśvāḥ yad ajayaḥ sṛjīdhaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyaṇa tells the following story: *Purā kila Indro 'surān jīvā Namuchim asuraṁ grahitūṁ na śatāka | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsurena jagrihe | sa cha grihitam Indram evam avocāt | "tvām viśṛjāmi rātrāv ahoṁ cha śuś-khēndreṇa chāyudhena yadi māṁ na himeṣi"* iti | *sa Indras tena viśṛjīkṣaṇ sam ahorātrayoḥ sandhau śuśkhārdra-vilakṣaṇena phenena tasya śiras chieheda | ayam artho 'evam pratipādyate |* He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya śiraḥ udavartayaḥ | "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam, which is different both from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." See also S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii 7, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 94; and also Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 1, 6 f.: *Indro Vṛtraṁ hatvā asurān parābhūya Namuchim asuraṁ na aladhata | tāṁ S'achyā 'grihṇāt | tau samaladhetaṁ | so 'smād abhīśunataraḥ bhavat | so 'bravīt | "sandhāṁ sandadhāvahai | atha tvā vaḥ (ava?) śrakṣyāmi | na mā śuś-kheṇa na ārdreṇa hanaḥ na divā na naktam"* iti | *sa etam apām phenam asinchat | na vai eṣa śuśkho na ārdreḥ | cyuśkṣā āsīd anuditaḥ sūryaḥ | na vai etad divā na naktam | tasya etasmin loke apām phenena śiraḥ udavartayat |* "Indra, after having slain Vṛtra and defeated the Asuras, could not catch Namuchi, who was one of that race. He (Namuchi) captured him (Indra) with S'achi [or by force]. These two laid hold of each other. The one (Namuchi) was stronger than the other (Indra). He (Namuchi) said: 'Let us make an agreement; then I shall let thee go. Promise that thou wilt smite me neither with dry nor wet, neither by day nor by night.' He (Indra) anointed (the thunderbolt) with this foam of the waters, which was neither dry nor wet. It was twilight,—the sun not risen; neither day nor night. He smote off his head with the foam of the waters." The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff.

This story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is again told in the Mahābhārata, S'alya-parvan (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vānavād bhītaḥ sūrya-raśmīm samāviśat |* *tenendrah sakhyam akaroṣ samayanchedam abravīt | "na chārdreṇa na śuśkheṇa na*

was to be made into the wombs of Devaki and Rohini, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

I add an interesting passage from the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 22, 36 ff., where Vishnu is first of all placed on a level with Brahmā and Siva; but afterwards declared to be the highest form of Brahma:

36. *Dve rūpe Brahmanas tasya mūrtaṁ chāmārtam eva cha | ksharā-kshara-svarūpe te sarva-bhūtesho avasthite |* 37. *aksharam paramam Brahma ksharam sarvam idaṁ jagat |* 38. *eka-dēsa-sthitasyaḥnagor jyotnā vistāriṇi yathā | parasya Brahmanāḥ śaktis tathedam akhilāṁ jagat |* 39. *tatrāthāsanna-dūratvād bahutva-svalpatāmayaḥ | jyotnā-bhedo 'sti tachchāḥpaktes tadvad Maitreya vidyate |* 40. *Brahma-Vishṇu-Sivāḥ brahman pradhānāḥ Brahma-śaktayaḥ | tataś cha devāḥ Maitreya nyandāḥ Yakshādāyas tataḥ |* 41. *Tato manushyāḥ paśavo mṛiga-pakshisarīripāḥ | nyūnāḥ nyūnatarās chaiva vriksha-gulmādāyas tataḥ | tad etad akshayaṁ nityaṁ jagad muni-sarākhilam | āvirbhāva-tirobhāva-janma-śāsa-vikalpavat |* 42. *Sarva-śaktimayo Viṣṇuḥ svarāpam Brahmanāḥ param | mūrtaṁ yad yogibhiḥ pūrvaṁ yogārambheshu chintyate |* 43. *sāmbāno mahāyogaḥ savijo yatra samasthitāḥ | manasy ayyahate samyag yunyatāṁ jāyate mune |* 44. *sa paraḥ sarva-śaktinām Brahmanāḥ samanantaraḥ | mūrta-brahma mahābhūga sarva-brahmamayo Hariḥ |* 45. *tatra sarvam idaṁ protam otaṁ chaivākhilāṁ jagat | tato jagat jagat tasmin sa jagach chākhilam mune |* 46. *ksharāksharamayo Viṣṇur bibharty akhilam īśvaraḥ | puruṣavyākṛitamayaṁ bhūṣaṇāstra-svarūpavat |*

*rūtrau nāpi chāhani | badhishyāmy asura-dreshṭha sakhe satyena te śape" | evaṁ sa kṛitvā samayaṁ drishṭvā nihāram īśvaraḥ | chichhedānya śiro rājann apām phenam Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namuchiḥ chhinnaṁ prishṭhataḥ Śakram anvaiyāt | bho mitra-hana pāpeti druvāṇaṁ Śakram antikāt | evaṁ sa śirādū tena chodiyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ |* Pitāmahāya santaptaḥ etam arthaṁ nyavedayat | tam abravīt loka-gurur aruṇyāṁ yathāvidhi | iśtvopasprīṣa devendra tīrthe pāpa-bhayaḥpāhe | "Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'O wicked slayer of thy friend.' Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: 'Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṇa, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,' etc.

"Of that Brahma there are two conditions, one possessed of form, the other formless. These decaying and undecaying states exist in all creatures. The undecaying is the highest Brahma; the decaying is this entire universe. Just as light is diffused from a fire which is confined to one spot, so is this whole universe the [diffused] energy of the supreme Brahma. And as light shows a difference, greater or less, according to its nearness or distance from the fire, so is there a variation in the energy of Brahma. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yakshas, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yakshas, etc.; and trees and plants are the lowest of all [these energies]. This entire universe, which, O most excellent Muni, is subject to appearance and disappearance, to production, to destruction, and to change, is yet undecaying and eternal. Vishṇu, containing all the energies, is the highest form of Brahma, which, at the commencement of their abstraction, is contemplated by Yogins as invested with shape. Directed to him, the great union (*maḥāyoga*) with its basis, and its germs, is produced in the undistracted minds of the devotees. Hari (Vishṇu) is the highest and most immediate of all the energies of Brahma, the embodied Brahma, formed of the whole of Brahma. On him this entire universe is woven and interwoven: from him is the world, and the world is in him; and he is the whole universe. Vishṇu, the lord, consisting of what is perishable as well as what is imperishable, sustains everything, both Puruṣa and Prakṛiti, in the form of his ornaments and weapons." [The writer goes on to explain what is meant by the last clause. Vishṇu bears or wears Puruṣa as the Kaustubha gem, Prakṛiti as the Śrīvatsa, etc. See Wilson's translation, vol. ii. p. 94 of Dr. Hall's ed.]

In the earlier part of the same section (Wilson, vol. ii., pp. 86 f.) it is said that all kings, whether of men, gods, Daityas, Dānavas, or Rākshasas, are portions of Vishṇu.

VII. In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 38, 50, 181). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Śānti-parvan, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhisṭhira says to Kṛishṇa:

*Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayana cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-  
tardūla tathā vikramanena cha | punaḥ prāptam idaṁ rājyam pitṛi-*

*pañāmāham mayā | namas te Puṇḍarikākṣa puṇaḥ punar arindama |  
tvām ekam āhuḥ Puruṣam tvām āhuḥ Sāttvatām gatim | nāmadhis tvām  
bahuvīdhaiḥ stuvanti prayatāḥ dṛijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvāt-  
man viśva-sambhava | Viśṇo jishṇo Hara Kṛiṣṇa Vaikuṇṭha Puru-  
ṣottama | Adityāḥ saptaḍḍhā tvām tu purāṇe garbhatām gataḥ | Prīṇi-  
garbhas tvam evaikaṣ triyugaṁ tvām vadanty api | Suchisravāḥ Hṛiṣī-  
keṣa ghṛitāchir haṁsaḥ uchyase | trichakṣuḥ Sambhuḥ ekas tvām vibhuḥ  
Dāmodara 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnīr vṛihadbhānuḥ vṛiṣabhas Tārkaṣya-  
lakṣaṇaḥ | . . . 1514. Yonis tvam aṣya pralayaścha Kṛiṣṇa tvam  
evedaṁ vṛijasi viśvam agre | viśvachedaṁ tvad-vāse viśvayone namo 'stu  
te śārngā-chakrāsi-pāṇe |*

"By thy favour, Kṛiṣṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father and grandfathers. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Puruṣa : thee alone they call the refuge of the Sātvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Viśṇu, conqueror, Hari, Kṛiṣṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.<sup>200</sup> Thou alone art Prī-nigarbha : they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called Suchisravas, Hṛiṣīkeṣa, Ghṛitāchi, and Haṁsa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,<sup>201</sup> the Bull, he whose sign is Tārkaṣya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words : "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Kṛiṣṇa : it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou source of all things : glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīṣma to Kṛiṣṇa is given, in which the following lines occur :

1609 | *Yasmin viśvāni bhūtāni tiṣṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guṇa-  
bhūtāni bhūteṣu sūtre maṇi-gaṇāḥ iva | yasmin nitye tato tantau dṛiḍha  
vṛag iva tiṣṭhātī | sad-asad grathitāṁ viśvāṁ viśvāṅgo viśva-karmaṇi |*

<sup>200</sup> This, I suppose, refers to the Ādityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>201</sup> A name of Agni.

*Harim sahasra-śīrasaṁ sahasra-śaraṇakṣaṇam | sahasra-bāhu-mukha-  
taṁ sahasra-vadanojjvalam | prāhur Nārāyaṇaṁ devaṁ yaṁ vibhāsya  
parāyaṇam | anīyasām aniyāṁsaṁ sthaviśṭhaṁ cha sthaviyasām | garī-  
yasaṁ garishṭhaṁ cha śreṣṭhaṁ cha śreyasām api | yaṁ vākeṣu anuvā-  
keṣhu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | grīṇanti satya-karmāṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeshu  
sāmasu | ityādi | . . . . . 1616. Sarvātmā sarva-vit sarvaḥ sarvajñaḥ  
sarva-bhāvaṇaḥ | yaṁ devaṁ Devakī devī Vasudevād ajījanat | Bhaumasya  
Brahmaṇo guptyai dīptam Agnim ivāraṇiḥ | . . . . . 1622. Yasmin lokāḥ  
sphurantīms jale sakunayo yathā |*

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe, existent and non-existent, abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, with a thousand arms and dindems, resplendent with a thousand faces, whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in 'vākas,' 'anuvākas,' in 'nishads,'<sup>323</sup> and in 'upanishads,' and in true 'sāma'-hymns, . . . 1616. the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakī bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brāhmins and sacrifices, Comm.) as Arani (the wood used for kindling fire),<sup>323</sup> produced the flaming Agni. . . . . 1622. In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

<sup>323</sup> This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as 'nishads,' or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the Upanishads may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the Upapurāṇas do to the Purāṇas. Nilakanṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nishatsu as meaning karmāṅgādy-avabaddha-devatādi-jñāna-vākyeshu, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda," etc. The Upanishads "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (kevalātma-jñāpaka-vākyeshu). Vākas, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu); while anuvākas are "texts of the Brāhmaṇas, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (mantrārtha-vivaraṇa-bhūteshu brahmaṇa-vākyeshu).

<sup>323</sup> See the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.

In the following passage, also from the Śānti-parvan, Kṛiṣṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see above, pp. 185-204), in which Kṛiṣṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In the verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Kṛiṣṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Kṛiṣṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half<sup>264</sup> (*ivaṁ hi me 'rḍhaṁ smṛitaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Viṣṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140. *Yasya prasādato Brahmā Rudrascha krodha-sambhavaḥ*). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhṁe rātri-kahaye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasah | prasādāt prādurabhavat padmam padma-nībhekhṣaṇa | tato Brahmā sambhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajah | ahaṁ kahaye lalāṭāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvishṭasya sanjayne Rudrah saṁhāra-kārakaḥ | etau dvau vibudha-śreṣṭhau prasāda-krodha-jau ubhau | tad-ādeṣita-panthānau śṛiṣṭi-saṁhāra-kārakau | nimitta-mātram tāv atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradau | kapardī jaṭilo munḍaḥ śmaśāna-gṛiha-śvakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dhara Rudro yogi parama-dāruṇaḥ | Dakṣa-kṛatu-haraśchaiva Bhaga-netra-haraḥ tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jneyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāno vai deva-devo Mahā-svare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | ahaṁ ātmā hi lokānāṁ viśveśham Pāṇḍu-nandana | 13152. tasmād ātmānam evāgre Rudraṁ sampūjayāmy ahaṁ | yady ahaṁ nārḥayeyaṁ vai Īśānāṁ varadaṁ Śivam | ātmānaṁ nārḥayet kaśchid iti me bhāvitātmanaḥ | mayā pramāṇaṁ hi kṛitaṁ lokaḥ samanuvartate | pramāṇāni hi pūjyāni tataḥ tam pūjāmy ahaṁ | yas taṁ velti sa mām velti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvīdhākṛitaḥ | loka-charati Kaunteya vyakti-śthaṁ sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenachid deyo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana | iti sanḥintya manasā purāṇam Rudram itva-ram | putrārtham āvādhītvān ahaṁ ātmānam ātmagā | na hi Viṣṇuḥ*

<sup>264</sup> See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 228 ff.

*pranamatī kasmaichit vibudhaya cha | rite ātmānam eveti tato Rudram  
bhajāmy aham | sabrahmakāḥ sarudrāśoḥa sandraḥ devāḥ saharahibhiḥ |  
archayanti sura-breshṭhān devān Nārāyaṇān Harim | bhaviṣhyatām  
vartatānoha bhūtānānohaiva Bhārata | sarveṣāṃ agrarīr Viṣṇuḥ  
svayaḥ pajyatōha nityaśaḥ ityādi |*

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, O thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his (Viṣṇu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger,<sup>265</sup> have their

<sup>265</sup> I quote the following from the Maitrī Upanishad, 5th Prapāthaka: *Temo vai idam agre ātā ekam | tat pare syāt | tat tat parṣṇa tritām viṣhamatvam prayāti | etad rūpam vai rajaḥ | tad rajaḥ khalu tritām viṣhamatvam prayāti | etad vai sattivasya rūpam | tat sattivam eva tritām rasaḥ samprūravat | so 'māo 'yam yā chetū-mātraḥ pratipuruṣaḥ khetrajñaḥ sankalpādhyavasāyābhīmāna-lingaḥ | Prajāpatiḥ Viśvō ity asya prūḡ uktāḥ etāḥ tanavaḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya tāmāso 'māo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yam Rudraḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya rūjāso 'māo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yam Brahmā | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya sattiviko 'māo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yam Viṣṇuḥ | sa vai eṣa ekaḥ tridhā bhūto 'ekādadhā ekādāśadhā dvādaśadhā aparimitadhā vā udbhūtaḥ udbhūtatoūd bhūtam bhūteshu charati pravishṭaḥ sa bhūtānām adhipatiḥ bābhūva | ity asā ātmā antar bahīḥ cha antar bahīḥ cha |* This passage is translated as follows by Professor Cowell: "Verily this was at the first darkness alone; it abode in the Supreme; then, being set in motion by the Supreme, it passes into inequality. This condition becomes activity (*rajas*): this activity, being set in motion, passes into inequality. This becomes the condition of Goodness. This goodness alone was set in motion; and Flavour flowed forth. This is a portion [of the Soul] which is only measured by the Soul, reflected in each individual, cognizant of the body, and possessing as its signs volition, ascertainment, and consciousness. Prajāpati, Viśvā—these and the like, before mentioned, are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized" [*tāmāsaḥ*] "portion, that, O ye students, is the same as Rudra; as for its activity-characterized" [*rājasaḥ*] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahman; and as for its goodness-characterized" [*sattivikaḥ*] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Viṣṇu. He truly is one, existing as threefold, as eightfold, as elevenfold, as twelvefold, as infinite fold; he is manifested everywhere; and, from being thus manifested, he is the Being; he enters and pervades all beings, he is the lord of beings. Thus he, the Soul, is within and without, within and without."

In the Vāyu-purāṇa, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum," p. 566, it is declared by Śūta that there is but one God, who assumed three forms (*rājasī, sattivikī, tāmāsī tanūḥ*) for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world. In the Devā-Bhāgavata Rārāṇa, book i., sect. 4, v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 80a, Nārada tells Vyāsa that Viṣṇu had once spoken to Brahmā as follows: *Brashṭā tvam pālakaḥ chāhaṁ Haraḥ samlhāra-kārakaḥ |*



courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplisners [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Dakha's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Prithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. 13152. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Īśāna, the boon-bestowing Śiva, no one would worship myself [or the Soul]—this is [the reflection made] by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.<sup>266</sup> Authoritative examples are to be revered: hence I reverence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.<sup>267</sup> Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 195). For Viṣṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Viṣṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

In the following passage (Annāsana-parvan, vv. 6295 ff.), some

*krītaḥ kṛmeti sa tārkaḥ kriyate veda-pāragauḥ | 47 | Jagat-sañjanano śaktis tvayī  
vartatī rājasī | śāttvikī mayī Rudre cha tāmasī parikṛtītā | 48 | tayā virahitas tvam  
tu na hy etat karaṇaṁ prabhūḥ | nāham pālāyitūṁ śaktiḥ saṁhartaṁ nāpi Śankaraḥ |  
49 | tad-ādīnāḥ vāyam sarve vartāmaḥ sataṁ vibho | 46.* "The question by what thou art made the creator, I the preserver, and Hara the destroyer, is proposed by those who have studied the Veda. 47. In thee there exists a passionate [or 'active,' as Professor Cowell translates *rājasī*] energy, [which operates] in the production of the world, in me there is declared to be a pure [*śāttvikī*], and in Rudra a dark [*tāmasī*], energy. 48. If we were destitute of these several energies, thou wouldst be unable to create, or I to preserve, or Śankara to destroy. 49. We are continually dependent upon these our [respective energies]."

<sup>266</sup> See above, p. 53, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gītā, iii. 21 ff.

<sup>267</sup> Compare a similar sentiment in p. 230.

parts of which may be later interpolations, Kṛishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhīṣma, at the request of Yudhiṣṭhira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Kṛishṇa. He states that Kṛishṇa had performed a ceremonial (*vrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flame issued from the mouth of Kṛishṇa, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Kṛishṇa asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Viṣṇu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahādeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of his power (*tejas*). Kṛishṇa next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Kṛishṇa's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahādeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahādeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (Bhūtas) and by the nymphs (Apsarases), etc., etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhūta-stri-gaṇa*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and vashaṭkāras, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame

which bursts from Mahādeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it consumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter inquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which, as Bhīṣhma tells us, she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīṣhma then informs us (v. 6804) that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (Gandharvas). We might have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor; but, as I have said, he is interrupted by Bhīṣhma at v. 6804, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīṣhma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis! (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Kṛishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Kṛishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he

should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Kṛishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine character. Yudhishṭhira, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

*Kim ekam daivataṁ loke kiṁ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ  
kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | ko dharmāḥ sarva-dharmā-  
ṇam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ jagan muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-  
bandhanāt | Bhīshmaḥ uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devaṁ anantam  
puruṣhottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇa puruṣhaḥ satatottīṣṭaḥ | tam eva  
chārchayan nityam bhaktyā puruṣham avyayam | dhyāyan stuvan nama-  
yaṁśiścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanam Viṣṇuṁ sarva-loka-  
maheśvaram | lokādhyakṣam stuvan nityaṁ sarva-duḥkhātigo bhavet |  
brahmanyam sarva-dharma-jnam lokānāṁ kīrti-cardhanan | loka-  
nātham mahad bhūtam sarva-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | osha me sarva-dhar-  
māṇāṁ dharmo 'dhikataṁ mataḥ | . . . 6946. Yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni  
bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-  
khalaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Viṣṇor nāma-  
sahasram me śṛiṇu pāpa-bhayūpaham |*

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhīshma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Puruṣha, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Puruṣha, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Viṣṇu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augments of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . v. 6946. Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Viṣṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing yuga, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the yuga."

These thousand names of Viṣṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz. Sarva, Sarva, Śiva, Sthāṇu (v. 6953), Īśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parvan, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Kṛiṣṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff. :

*Pitāmahād api varah śātvataḥ Puruṣo Hariḥ | Kṛiṣṇo jāmbūnadā-  
bhāso vyabhīre sūryaḥ ivoditaḥ | daśa-bāhur mahātejaḥ devatāri-nirūdanah |  
śrīvatsaṅko Hṛiṣīkeśaḥ sarva-daivata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhavaḥ  
tathā chāhaṁ siro-bhataḥ | śiroruhebhyaḥ jyotiṃśhi romaḥkṛiṣṇaḥ sura-  
suraḥ | ṛiṣayo deha-sambhūtāḥ tathā lokāḥ cha śāsvataḥ | Pitāmaha-  
grihaṁ sākṣhāt sarva-deva-grihaṁ cha saḥ | so 'syaḥ prithivyāḥ kṛiteṇa-  
yāḥ sraśṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁhartā chaiva bhūtānāṁ sthāvarasya  
charasya cha | sa hi deva-varaḥ sākṣhād deva-nāthaḥ parantapaḥ | sarva-  
jñaḥ sa hi saṁśīṣṭaḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛiṣīkeśaḥ  
sarva-vyāpī mahēśvaraḥ | na tasmāt paramam bhūtam triṣhu lokēṣhu  
kīñchana | sanātano vai Madhuhā Govindaḥ iti vīrutah | sa sarvān  
pūthivān sankhye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryārtham utpanno  
mānushaṁ vapur āsthitah | na hi deva-gaṇāḥ śaktāḥ Trivikrama-vinā-  
kṛitāḥ | bhuvano deva-kāryāṇi kartum nāyaka-varjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarva-  
bhūtānāṁ sarva-bhūta-namaśṛitaḥ | etasya deva-nāthasya deva-kārya-  
ratasya cha | brahma-bhūtasya satataṁ devareṣi-saraṇasya cha | Brahmā  
vasati garbhasthaḥ śarīre mukha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhaṁ saṁśritāḥ cha  
śarīre tasya devatāḥ | sa devaḥ puṇḍarikākṣaḥ śṛigarbhaḥ śrī-saḥaśhitaḥ |  
ityādi | . . . 6827. bhavārtham iha devānāṁ buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ |  
prajāpātye śubhe mārge Mānave dharma-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo  
Manor vaṁśe mahātmanah | . . . v. 6835. tṛiṣaṁ vikhyāta-vīryāṇāṁ  
chārītra-guṇaśālināṁ | yajvanāṁ suvīśuddhānāṁ vaṁśe brāhmaṇa-  
sammatē<sup>200</sup> | sa 'Suraḥ kṣatriya-śreṣṭhō mahāvīryo mahāyasaḥ | sva-  
vaṁśa-vistara-karaṁ janayishyati mānadaḥ | Vāsudevaḥ iti khyātam  
putram Anakadundubhim | tasya putraḥ chaturbāhur Vāsudevo bha-  
viṣhyati | datā brāhmaṇa-satkartā brahmabhūto dvija-priyaḥ | . . .  
6842. Tam bhavantaḥ samāsādya vāṇ-mālyair arhaṇair varaiḥ | aroha-  
yantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṇam iva śāsvatam | yo hi mām drashṭum  
iccheta Brahmāṇaṇcha pitāmahaṁ | drashṭavyas teṇa bhagavān Vāsu-*

<sup>200</sup> Quere, *Brāhmaṇa-sammitē*, "equal to Brahmana" ?

*devaḥ pratāpavān | dṛśiṣṭe tasminn ahaṁ dṛśiṣṭo na me 'trāsti vichāraṇā |  
pitāmaho vā devaśaḥ iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |*

“Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Puruṣa, Kṛṣṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛṣīkeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the movable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛṣīkeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He, the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice), are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī, dwelling together with Śrī. . . . 6827. For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati Manu, characterized by righteousness.” [Govinda’s ancestors are then detailed.] 6835. “In this family, esteemed by Brahmans, of men renowned for valour, distinguished by good conduct and excellent qualities, priests, most pure, this Sūra, the most eminent of Kshatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,<sup>200</sup> the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a

<sup>200</sup> See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 436 = vol. iv., p. 101, of Dr. Hall’s ed.  
VOL. IV. 18

benefactor of Brāhmana, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmana. . . . 6842. You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods : know this ye whose wealth is ansterity."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parvan (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishtīra to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmana, refers him to Kṛishna, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

*Kṛishnaḥ prithvīm asrijat khaṁ divancha Kṛishnasya dehād medinī sambabhūva | varūho 'yam bhīma-balaḥ purāṇaḥ sa parvatān vyasrijad vai dīśascha | asya chūdhō 'thāntarikshaṁ divancha dīśaś chatasro vidīśaś chatasraḥ | spīṣṭis tathaiveyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viśvam idam purāṇam | asya nābhyām pushkaraṁ samprasūtāṁ yatropannaḥ svayam evāmitayaj | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pṛitha ghoraṁ yat tat tishṭhaty arṇavaṁ tarjayānam | . . . . 7388. Vāyur bhūtvā vikshipate sa viśvam agnir bhūtvā dahate viśva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā majjayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā srijate sarva-saṅghān | vedyancha yad vedayate cha vedyāṁ vidhīścha yaś chāśrayate vidheyam | dharme cha vede cha bale cha sarvaṁ charācharaṁ Keśavaṁ tvam pratīhi | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau purastāt prakūśate yat prabhayā viśva-rūpaḥ | apaḥ spīṣṭvā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam evātha viśvam ityādi |*

"Kṛishna created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Kṛishna's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions : and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . . 7388. Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is

whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, movable and immovable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe." Kṛishṇa then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmans, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and rulers of worlds, (*bhasma kuryur jagad idaṁ kruddhāḥ pratyakṣa-darśinaḥ | anyān api sṛjeyuḥ cha lokān lokaśvarāṁs tathā*) and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience regarding Durvāsas (see above, p. 196). He afterwards goes on, in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 197 ff., to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity; and in the course of his description he makes nearly as explicit an avowal of the supreme divinity of the other god, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (*Anuśāsana-parvan*, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 273 f.

In the Āsvamedhika-parvan it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Kṛishṇa had left the city of the Pāṇḍus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pāṇḍus with one another. Kṛishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Kṛishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Kṛishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff.:

*Vāsudevaḥ urūcha | tamo rajas cha sattvaṁ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viddhi mat-prabhavān divya | mayi sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitaḥ ityādi | . . .*  
 1567. *Sad asachechaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | akṣharaṁ cha kṣharanchaiva sarvaṁ etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameṣu vai dharmās chaturdhā viditāḥ muno | vaidikāni cha sarvāṇi viddhi sarvaṁ mad-ātma-*



*kaṁ | asaḥcha sad-asachchaiva yaḍ viśvaṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ  
 paratāraṁ nāsti deva-devāt sanātano | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedān viddhi  
 mām tvam Bhṛigūdevaḥ | yūpaṁ somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ tridaśāpyāyanam  
 makho | hotāraṁ api haṃyamaṁcha viddhi mām Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvaryuḥ  
 kalpakasyāpi haṁiḥ parama-saṁskṛtaṁ | udgātā cāpi mām stauti gita-  
 ghoshair mahādhvare | prāyaścitteshu mām brahman śānti-mangala-  
 vāchakāḥ | stuvanti viśvakarmāṇaṁ satataṁ dvija-sattama | mama viddhi  
 eutaṁ dharmam agrajaṁ dvija-sattama | mānasaṁ dayitaṁ vipra sarva-  
 bhūta-dayātmakam | tatṛāṣaṁ vartamānaiścha nirvṛttaiśchaiva māna-  
 vaiḥ | bahoiḥ saṁsaramāṇo vai yonir vartāmi sattama | dharmā-saṁrakṣa-  
 ṇārthāya dharmā-saṁsthāpanāya cha | taiḥ tair vesaḥ cha rūpaiḥ cha  
 triśu lokeshu Bhārgava | ahaṁ Viśṇur ahaṁ Brahmā Sakro 'tha pra-  
 bhavavyayaḥ (āpyayaḥ ?) <sup>270</sup> | bhūta-grāmaṣya sarvaṣya sraṣṭā saṁhāraḥ  
 eva cha | adharṁ vartamānānāṁ sarveṣāṁ ahaṁ achyutaḥ | dharmasya  
 sotum badhnamī chalite chalite yuge | tās tāḥ yonīḥ pravīṣyāham prajānāṁ  
 hitakāmyayā | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau vartāmi Bhṛigu-nandana | tadā  
 'haṁ deva-vaḥ sarvaṁ ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ | . . . 1582. Mānushye  
 vartamāne tu kripanāṁ yāchitūḥ mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohāḥ cacho  
 'grihṇanta mohitāḥ | bhayaṁcha mahad uddīṣya trāṣitāḥ Kuravo mayā |  
 kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarsitāḥ | te 'dharmeneha  
 saṁyuktāḥ paritāḥ kāla-dharmanā | 'dharmena nihatāḥ yuddhe gatāḥ  
 svargaṁ na saṁśayaḥ | . . . Uttangaḥ uvācha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ  
 kartāraṁ tvāṁ Janārdana |*

“Know that the qualities of darkness (*tamas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattva*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. . . . 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and non-entity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, O muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], partake of my essence. As regards non-entity, and that which is both entity and non-entity, and that which transcends both entity and non-entity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhṛigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by the oṁkāra, [that I am], the sacrificial post,

<sup>270</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *āpyaya*; and Udyoga-parvan, v. 2569.

the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśā-pyāyana in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the hotṛi (priest), and the havya (oblation). [I am] also the adhvaryu of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The udgātṛi celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, O excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. There I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. When all men live in unrighteousness, I, the unfailing, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away, entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures. Whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my character of a god." . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) . 1582. "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."<sup>271</sup> On hearing this reply of Kṛiṣṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Kṛiṣṇa then shows him his divine form.

<sup>271</sup> See Mahābhārata, S'ānti-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: *Āhave tu hataṁ śūram na śocheta kathanchana | aśochyo hi hataḥ śūrah evarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakaṁ tasya na snānaṁ nāpy aśauchakam | hatasya kartum ichhanti tasya lokān iriṣusheva me | varāṅsaraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hataṁ | tvaramāṇā bhīdhāvanti "mama dhartā bhaved" iti* | "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarasas*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, *Indische Studien*, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representa-

VIII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 185 f., 194, 196), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Viṣṇu (pp. 263 ff.). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 241, 268), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims.<sup>272</sup> Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivaṃśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Śiva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in tions about Hūris in the Coran. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: *Abhīto vikīraṇa śatrūṇ pratigrihya sarāṃsi tathā | na tasmāt tridāsāḥ śreyo bhuvi paśyanti kinchana | tasya śastrāṇi yāvanti tvacham bhīṇanti saṃyuge | tāvataḥ so 'ṇute lokān sarva-kāma-duho 'kshayāu | yad asya rudhiraṃ gūtrād āhave sampravartate | suha tenaiva pāpāna sarva-pāpāḥ pramūṣhyate* | "The gods see nothing on earth superior to the man who, fearless, scattering his foes, receives arrows in his body. As many weapons as pierce him in the fray, so many worlds yielding all enjoyments does he enjoy. With the blood which flows from his body, and through that misery so endured, he is freed from all his sins." Much more follows in praises of valour and reprehension of timidity. In vv. 3626 ff. a battle is compared to a sacrifice, and their corresponding parts described. In vv. 3666 ff. we are told that King Janaka showed his warriors the shining heavens, filled with Gandharvas' daughters, and yielding all manner of delights, destined for the courageous (*abhīrūṇām ime lokāḥ bhāsvanto hanta paśyata | pūrṇāḥ gandharva-kanyābhīḥ sarva-kāma-duho 'kshayāḥ*); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Kṛṣṇa says to Jarā-sandha (Sabhā-parvan, v. 869): *Ko hi jñānāṃ abhijānam ātmavān kṣatriyo nripaḥ | nūvisat svargam atulaṃ raṇānantaram avyayam | svargāṃ hy eva samāsthāya raṇa-yajñeshu dīkṣitāḥ | jayanti kṣatriyāḥ lokāṃ tad viddhi manjarashabha | svargayonir mahad brahma svarga-yonir mahad yataḥ | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe mṛityuḥ so 'vyabhichāravān* | "For what Kṣatriya king, who was wise, and appreciated his own noble birth, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kṣatriyas, consecrated in the sacrifices of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise; such a death never fails of its reward." See also R.V. x. 154, 3, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 310.

<sup>272</sup> Compare Vāya Purāṇa, as quoted in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varāhap., *ibid.*, p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devibhāg., *ibid.*, p. 81a; also Padmaśp., *ibid.*, p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Kṛṣṇa speaks: *S'āvitṛḥ Saurāś cha Gāṇḍivāḥ Vaiṣṇavāḥ Ś'akti-pūjakaḥ | mām eva prāpnuvantīha sarvopāḥ sugaṇā yathā | eko hi pañcadhā jātāḥ svarūpāir nāma bhīḥ kila | Devadatto yathā kaśchit putrādya-āhvāna-nāma bhīḥ* | "The worshippers of Ś'iva, Sūra (the Sun), Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Ś'akti, come to me, as all streams flow to the ocean. For, though one, I am born with fivefold forms and names, just as the man Devadatta when called [is addressed] by the appellations of 'son,' etc."

their conflict with Kṛishṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Siva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Siva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called jṛimbhana, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Siva against his conflict with Kṛishṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Siva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛishṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Siva) in the form of Hari (Viṣṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

*Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ uvācha | Sivāya Viṣṇu-rūpāya Viṣṇave S'iva-rūpine<sup>273</sup> |  
athāntaraṁ na paśyāmi tena te dīśataḥ<sup>274</sup> śivam | an-ādi-madhya-nidhanam  
etaḍ akṣharam avyayam | tad eva te pravakṣhyāmi rūpam Hari-Harāt-  
makam | yo vai Viṣṇuḥ sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ | eka  
mūrtiḥ trayo devāḥ Rudra-Viṣṇu-Pitāmahaḥ | varadāḥ loka-kartāro  
loka-nāthāḥ svayambhuvāḥ | ardha-nārīśvarāś te tu vrataṁ tivrāṁ samā-  
śritāḥ | yathā jalō jalaṁ kṣiptaṁ jalam eva tu tad bhavet | Rudraṁ  
Viṣṇuḥ pravaiṣṭas tu tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agniṁ agniḥ pravaiṣṭas  
tu agnir eva yathā bhavet | tathā Viṣṇum pravaiṣṭas tu Rudro Viṣṇu-  
mayo bhavet | Rudram agnimayaṁ vidyād Viṣṇuḥ somātmakaḥ smṛitaḥ |  
agnishomātmakaṁ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jangamam | kartārau cāpa-  
hartārau sthāvarasya charasya oha | jagataḥ śubha-kartārau prabhū  
Viṣṇu-Maheśvarau | kartri-kāraṇa-kartārau kartri-kāraṇa-kārakau |  
bhūta-bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṇa-Maheśvarau | etau tau cha pra-  
vaktārāv etau tau cha prabhūmayau | jagataḥ pālakāv etāv etau spīṣṭi-  
karau smṛitau | ete ohaiva pravaraṣṭanti bhānti vānti spijanti cha | etat*

<sup>273</sup> See the same words above, p. 231.

<sup>274</sup> The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darśitaḥ*.

*paratāraṁ guhyaṁ kathitaṁ te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paśhate nityaṁ  
yaś chainaṁ śṛṇuyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramaṁ sthānaṁ Rudra-Vishṇu-  
prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Haraṁ stoshye Brahmanā saha saṅgataḥ | etau  
cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Viṣṇur  
Viṣṇoscha paramaḥ Śivaḥ | ekaḥ eva dvīdhā-bhūto loka charati nityasaḥ |  
na vinā Śankaraṁ Viṣṇur na vinā Keśavaṁ Śivaḥ | tasmād ekatvaṁ  
āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityūdi.*

"When thou showest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between Śiva who exists in the form of Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu who exists in the form of Śiva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Viṣṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mūrti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Viṣṇu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Viṣṇu must possess the nature of Viṣṇu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the nature of Agni; Viṣṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world, movable and immovable, possesses the nature of Agni and Soma.<sup>275</sup> The lords, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things movable and immovable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara are the [first] makers of the cause, and of [the secondary] maker, the [first] causers of the cause, and of the [secondary] makers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode, granted by the grace of Rudra and Viṣṇu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahṁā; and these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the

<sup>275</sup> See above, pp. 204 and 225.

world. Vishṇu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Śiva, the highest [manifestation] of Viṣṇu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Viṣṇu does not [exist] without Sankara, nor Śiva without Keśava; hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Viṣṇu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Kṛishṇa given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 185 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Kṛishṇa.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karna, and Salva. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Kṛishṇa's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 237 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 243 ff., where the achievements of Kṛishṇa are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognize a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)<sup>270</sup> underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their

<sup>270</sup> See Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 616; in second ed., p. 762.

character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Kṛishṇa himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Droṇa-parvan, v. 402, and the Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyoga-parvan, quoted in p. 247).

The identification of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 228 ff.)<sup>277</sup> is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Viṣṇu and Kṛishṇa, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Kṛishṇa,—when Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Kṛishṇa is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 185 ff., 194). In another set of texts, however (pp. 230, 264 ff.), Kṛishṇa, as Viṣṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,<sup>278</sup> while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Viṣṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 241, 268). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Kṛishṇa, and that in another place Kṛishṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

<sup>277</sup> In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Puruṣa, the rishi of the Puruṣa-sūkta (R.V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

<sup>278</sup> Even in the parts of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 253 ff.), where Kṛishṇa is represented as a partial incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 49.

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the *Mahābhārata* by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

Though deeper study might lead to a different conclusion, it does not, I think, result from a superficial comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Kṛishṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both, in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Kṛishṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 184 ff., 230 ff., and 269 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 230 and 269). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.<sup>279</sup>

Lassen remarks (i. 780; i. 922 in second ed.), that in the epic poems the worship of Viṣṇu is but seldom<sup>280</sup> mentioned—a fact which he

<sup>279</sup> See Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. i., pp. 561, 571, 610, 711, 716, 741, and 781; = pp. 676, 686, 756, 861, 708, 871, 922, in second ed.

<sup>280</sup> Lassen (i. 679 = p. 828 in second ed.) refers to a passage of the *Vana-parvan* (16283 ff.), where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a *rājasūya* sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Viṣṇu. This story will be quoted farther on.



regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes (note to i. 561, 1st ed.; i. 675, 2nd ed.) the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrtha-yātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvan, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṇī river, in the country of the Kalingas :

*Tatas Tripiṣṭhapaṃ gacchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇī punyā nadi pāpa-praṇāśini | tatra snātvā 'rehayitvā cha S'ūlapāṇīm Vṛṣhadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramāṃ gatim |*  
 "Let him then go to Tripiṣṭhapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaraṇī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book (p. 569 of the printed Calcutta ed.) it is said of the north bank of the same river :

*Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makho | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravit | hrīte paśau tadā devās tam ūchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhāḥ mā dharmān sakalān vaśiḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhir vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | iṣṭyā chainaṃ tarpayitvā mānayānchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum uterijya deva-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvaṃso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishṭhira | ayātayāmaṃ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ sankalpayāmaṃsar bhayād Rudrasya śūśvatam | imāṃ gāthāṃ atra gāyann apāḥ eprīṣati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'sya pañthās cha chakakushā 'bhiprakāśate |*

"In this very place, O king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishṭhira: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all

portions, the ayātayāma (or fresh portion). The man who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters, obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.”

In the same Vana-parvan, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarṇa, on the west coast of the Dekhan :

*Ātha Gokarṇam āsādyā trishu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhye rūjendra sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | yatra Brahmādayo devāḥ ṛishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . .* 8169: *Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ sailāḥ upāsanta Umā-patim | ityādi |* “Then having reached Gokarṇa, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity,” [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, Bhūtas, Yakshas, etc., etc.], “rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva).”

The same place is also mentioned in the Rāmopakhyaṇa of the Vana-parvan, v. 15999 f. :

*Trikūṭam samatikramya Kūlaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāsam gambhīrodam mahodādhim | tam atityātha Gokarṇam abhyagachhat Daśananaḥ | dayitaṁ sthūnam avyagraṁ Śūlapūner mahātmanaḥ |* “Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṇa) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarṇa, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident.”

[The same Tirtha-yātrā, however, from which the passages preceding the last are taken, contains the following lines celebrating Kṛṣhṇa :

\* Vana-parvan, v. 8349 f.—*Puṇyā Drāvavati tatra yatrāsau Madhusūdanaḥ | sākṣhād devaḥ purāṇo 'sau sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha vedavido viprah ye chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmanāṁ Kṛṣhṇam dharmam sanatanam | pavitrāṇām hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchyate | puṇyānām api puṇyo 'sau mangalānām cha mangalam | trailokyē Pundarikākṣho deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātmā vyayātmā cha kṣhetrajñaḥ paramēśvaraḥ | āste Harir achintyātmā tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |* “There is the holy Dvāravati where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god ; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brāhmins who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Kṛṣhṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods,

the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides.”]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem :

- Ādi-parvan, v. 7049.—*Evaṁ teshāṁ vilapatāṁ viprāṇāṁ vividhāḥ girāḥ | Arjuno dhanuṣo 'bhyāse tathau girir ivāchalāḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakṣiṇam athākarot | pranāmya śirasā devam Īśānaṁ varadam prabhum | Kṛishṇaṁ cha manasā kṛtvā jagriho chāṛjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunitha-Vaktraiḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-S'alya-S'ālvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-veda-parair nṛṣiṅhaiḥ kṛtaṁ na sajjam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi |* “While the Brāhmins thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Kṛishṇa,<sup>281</sup> Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunitha (S'isupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, S'alya, and S'ālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark,” etc., etc.

In the Vana-parvan, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhishma and released at the request of Yudhishthira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

*Jagāma rājan duḥkharṭo Gangādvārāya Bhārata | sa devaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā virūpākṣham Umāpatim | tapuś chachāra vipulāṁ tasya prīto Vṛṣadhvajah | baliṁ stayam pratyagrihṇāt prīyamāṇas Trilochanaḥ | varam chāsmai dadau devaḥ sa jagṛha cha tach chhṛiṇu | “Samastān sarathān pancha jayeyāṁ yudhi Pāṇḍarān” | iti rājā 'braviḍ devaṁ neti devas tam abravīt | ajayyāṁś chāpy abādhyāṁś cha vārayishyasi tān yudhi | ṛite 'rjunam mahābāhuṁ Naraṁ nāma sureśvaram | Vadāryāṁ taptā-tapasāṁ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyakam | ajitaṁ sarva-lokānāṁ devair api durāsadam | mayā dattam pūṣupatāṁ diryam apratimaṁ saram | avāpa lokapālebhyo vajrādīn sa mahāśarān | deva-devo hy anantātmā Viṣṇuḥ sūra-guruḥ prabhuḥ | pradhāna-puruṣo 'vyaktaḥ viśvātmā viśva-mūrtimān | yugāntakāle samprāpte kālāgnir dahate jagat | sa-parvatāṛṇa-va-dīpaṁ sa-sāila-vana-kānanam |*

<sup>281</sup> Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 646, first ed.; p. 794, second ed.) regards this reference to Kṛishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.

"He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (Haridvāra). There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jaya-dratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāṇḍavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other great weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Viṣṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Puruṣa), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests.'" Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Viṣṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Viṣṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Śānti-parvan also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toṣhayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśuṁ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākuntha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchaśā | kuḥkāreṇā-prameyeṇa lokeshv apratimo 'bhavat*). Then follows the story of Kārtavīrya (see the first volume of this work, pp. 450, 478).

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhisṭhira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Kṛishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyam Jarāsandhe jivamāṇe mahābale |*

*rājasūyaṁ tvayā 'vāptum eṣā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhaḥ hi  
rājānaḥ sarve jīvā Girivraje | kandaro parvatendrasya sīmhenova mahā-  
dvipāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyakṣhur vasudhādhīpaiḥ | Mahādevam  
mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasogreṇa nirjitāḥ tena  
pārthivāḥ | pratijñayās cha pārāṁ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi  
nirjitya nirjitya pārthivān pritanāgatān | puram ānīya baddhvā cha  
chakāra puruṣa-vrajam | vayaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt  
tadā | Mathurāṁ samparityajya gatūḥ Dvāravatīm purīm |*

“But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings [as victims]; and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too,” (confesses Kṛishṇa) “from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī.”

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—*Ratna-bhūjo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate |  
na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitāḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ  
nripatim pradhāna-puruṣo balāt | ādatte na cha no drishṭo 'bhāgaḥ  
puruṣhataḥ kvachit | evaṁ sarvān vāse chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān | taṁ  
durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | prokṣhitānām pramṛish-  
ṭānām<sup>252</sup> rājānām Paśupater grihe | paśūnām ivā kṛ pṛitir jīvite Bharat-  
arṣhabha |* “For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and we do not see that he has failed to master any mortal anywhere.<sup>253</sup> In this manner

<sup>252</sup> The commentator's remark on this is as follows: *Pramṛishṭānām | Rudra-daiv-  
atya 'yam iti pratyekam abhimṛishṭānām |*

<sup>253</sup> These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: *Jarāsandhena  
abhāgaḥ avikṛitaḥ | puruṣhataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu puruṣheshu | tena sarve vadik-  
ṛitāḥ ity arthaḥ |* “*Abhāgaḥ* means ‘unappropriated’ by Jarāsandha. *Puruṣhataḥ*  
means ‘among anointed kings.’ The sense is, that ‘all have been subdued by him.’”

Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

Krishṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha :

Sabhā-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—*Ṭvayā chopahṛitāḥ rājan kshatriyāḥ lokarāsināḥ | tad āgaḥ krūram utpādya manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājnaḥ katham sūdhūn hiṁsayād nṛipati-sattama | yad rājnaḥ sannigrihya tvam Rudrūyopajihṛasi | asmāns tad enopagaekchhet kṛitaṁ Vārhadratha tvayā | vayoṁ hi śaktiḥ dharmasya rakshaṇo dharmachārīṇaḥ | manushyānām samālabho na oha dṛishṭaḥ kadāchana | sa katham mānushair devaṁ yajñam ichhasi S'ankaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānām<sup>284</sup> paśu-sañjñām*

<sup>284</sup> On this the commentator remarks: *Nanu "Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabheta" ityādinā sarva-jūṭiyānām sarva-karmanām manushyānām ālabho devatūrikam baddhaḥ śrūyate ity āsankya āha savarṇo hi iti |* "But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, 'let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,' etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, 'For thou, belonging to the same tribe,' etc."

Texts such as that here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taitt. Br., iii. 4, 1, 1 ff. (*Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabhate ityādi* | "He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman," etc., etc.) and in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxx. 5 ff. (*Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ityādi*). In regard to the question whether human sacrifices were practised in the earliest Vedic age, see Prof. Haug, as quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 11, and in the second volume, p. 463; the story of S'unasēpa, adduced in vol. i., pp. 355 ff.; Prof. Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 419 f.; Prof. Weber's paper in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. xviii., pp. 262 ff. (reprinted in his *Indische Streifen*, i., pp. 54 ff.). The two last-named writers quote texts from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii., 8, and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, which I shall here cite. The former begins thus: *Purushaṁ vai devūḥ paśam ālabhanta | tasmād ālabdhād medhaḥ udakrāmat | so 'ivam praviśat | tasmād aīvo medhyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkrānta-medham atyarjanta | sa kimpurusho 'bhavat | te 'ivam ālabhanta | so 'ivād ālabdhād udakrāmat | sa gūm praviśat | tasmād gaur medhyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkrānta-medham atyarjanta sa gauramṛigo 'bhavat | te gūm ālabhanta | sa gor ālabdhād udakrāmat | so 'vim praviśat |* "The gods sacrificed a man as a victim. After he had been sacrificed, the sacrificial element went out of him. It entered into the horse, which consequently became suitable for sacrifice. They then dismissed the man, after the sacrificial element had left him; and he became a kimpurusha," [probably an ape, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's *Lexicon*, vol. ii., p. 228, and vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, *Ind. Stud.*, ix., 246. "The author very

*karishyasi | ko 'nyah evaṁ yathā hi tvam Jarāsandha vṛthā matiḥ | yas-  
yām yasyām avasthāyām yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyām tasyām  
avasthāyām tat-phalaṁ samavāpnuyāt | te tvām jñātī-kṛsya-karam vayam  
ārtānusārīṇaḥ | jñātī vṛddhi-nimittārthaṁ vinśantam śhāgatāḥ | . . .  
Jarāsandha uvācha . . . 882: Devatārtham upāhṛitya rājnah Kṛṣṇa  
katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchyeyām kahātraṁ vratam anusmaran |*

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshatriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king slaughter virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛhadratha, would attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Śankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those

likely means a dwarf," Hang's transl of the Ait Br, p 90, note, Muller regards the word as meaning "a savage"] "They sacrificed the horse, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the ox, which consequently became fit for sacrifice. They then dismissed the horse out of which the sacrificial element had departed, and it became a white deer. They next sacrificed the ox, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the sheep," etc. The same thing happens to the goat (in which the sacrificial element remained longest), then to the earth, in which it (the thing fit for sacrifice), when followed by the gods, became rice.

On this Prof Muller remarks: "The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued."

"The text from the Satapatha Brahmana, 1, 2, 3, 6, is as follows: *Puruṣaṁ ha vaś devāḥ agre pasuṁ ālebhūḥ | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | so 'svam pravveśa | te 'sram ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma sa gām pravveśa | te gām ā — | so 'vim pravveśa | te 'vim ā — | so 'jam pravveśa | te 'jam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | 7 | sa imām pṛthvīm pravveśa | tam kṣhanantāḥ va anvīkṣuh | tam anavindams tav imau vṛhi-yavau | . . . .  
sa yūvad-viryavād ha vaś asya ete sarve pasavaḥ ālabdhūḥ syus tūvad-vīryavād ha asya havir bhavati yāḥ evaṁ veda |* "The gods formerly offered up a man as a victim. The sacrificial element left him when he had been sacrificed and entered into the horse. They offered up the horse, whereupon the sacrificial element went out of him and entered into the ox." The same thing happens with the ox, and then with the sheep and the goat successively. "The sacrificial element went out of the goat, and (7) entered the earth. Digging, they searched for it, and found it (the thing fit for sacrifice) in the shape of rice and barley . . . . An oblation of these grains has as much efficacy, for him who knows this fact, as renders in all these victims when sacrificed."

princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act, will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred." Kṛishṇa, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Kṛishṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them through fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parvan; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who, after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rākshasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715), and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rākshasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

*Jarū-nāmā 'smi bhadraṁ te Rākshasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava veśmani rājen-  
dra pūjitaṁ nyavasāṁ sukham | grihe grihe manushyānāṁ nityaṁ tiṣṭhāmi  
rākshasī | griha-devitī nāmnā vai purā śriṣṭā Svayambhuvā | dānavānāṁ  
vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kudyē saputrāṁ  
yauvanānvitāṁ | grihe tasyē bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā kṣhayam āpnuyāt |  
tvad-grihe tiṣṭhamānā tu pūjita 'haṁ sadā vibho | likhita ohaiva kudyē  
'haṁ putrair bahubhir āvṛitā | gandha-puṣhpais tathā dhūpair bhakṣhyair  
bhōjyaiḥ supūjita | sā 'haṁ pratyupakārārtham chintayāmy anīśaṁ tava |  
taveme putra-śakale dṛiṣṭavaty asemi dhārmika | samśleshite mayā daivāt  
kumārāḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram ahaṁ to  
iha | Meruṁ vā khāditaṁ śaktā kim punas tava bālakam | griha-sampā-  
janāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |*

"I am, bless thee, a Rākshasī named Jarā, who can change my shape



at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for, the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, O king, and continually revered, painted upon the wall,<sup>285</sup> surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, O great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rākshaśī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy Jarāsandha, because he had been put together (*sandhitah*) by the Rākshaśī Jarā (v. 738. *Ājñāpayach cha rākshasyāḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroḥ chaiva Pitāmaha-samāḥ pitū | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatu ayam*). The rishi Chanḍakaśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753. *Esha Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripurānta-karaṁ Haram | sarvalokeshv atibalo śakṣhād drakṣhyati Māgadhaḥ*).

The description here given by the Rākshaśī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609, first ed.; p. 755, second ed.) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishtira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, first ed.; p. 821, second ed., remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Kṛishṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps

<sup>285</sup> Lassen remarks, vol. i., p. 755, note, that this is one of the oldest references in Indian literature to images of the gods.

be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishṇu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Śiśupāla, which has been given above (pp. 205 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Kṛishṇa's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Śiśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and, according to Lassen,<sup>386</sup> a representative of the Śaiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Kṛishṇa was, as I have already noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karna, and Śalya (pp. 216, 218, 220; etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 283, note 280), to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishṇu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parvan, 15274 ff., Karna, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karna replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishthira lives, and while his own father, Dhṛitarāshṭra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

*Asi tv anyad mahat satraṁ rājasūya-samam prabho | tena tvāṁ yaja  
rājendra śṛiṇu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime prithivī-pālāḥ kara-dās tava  
pārthiva | te karāṁ sampṛayaohhantu suvarṇaṁcha kṛitākṛitam | tena te  
kriyatām adya lāṅgalāṁ nṛipa-sattama | yajna-vāṭasya te bhūmih  
kṛishyatām tena Bhārata | tatra yajno nṛipa-bṛeshṭha prabhātānnaḥ  
suaśnikṛitāḥ | pravartatām yathānyāyāṁ sarvato hy anivārītāḥ | esha te  
Vaiṣṇavo nāma yajnaḥ satpurushochītāḥ | etena neshṭavān kaschid rite  
Vishṇum purātanam | rājasūyāṁ kratu-bṛeshṭhāṁ sparḍhaty esha  
mahākratuḥ |* "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries

<sup>386</sup> See above, p. 211, note 210.

present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and unwrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the ground of thy sacrificial inclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice, well arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishṇava sacrifice (the sacrifice of Viṣṇu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men. With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Viṣṇu.<sup>267</sup> This great ceremonial vies with the Rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices."

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some foolish persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhisṭhira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahīpatim | Yudhisṭhirasya yajñena na samo hy eṣa te kratuḥ | naiva tasya krator eṣa kalām arhati śhodāṣim | evaṁ tatrabruvan kechid vātikās taṁ janēśvaram | suhṛīdas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karna-parvan, quoted above, pp. 223 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Viṣṇu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākṣasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Sānti-parvan, 1414-1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, the eloquent mendicant Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.

I subjoin both of these passages: the substance of the first is given at the close of the preceding sentence.

Salya-parvan, v. 3619: *Yadi jānāti Chārvākaḥ parivṛtṭ vāg-viśā-*

<sup>267</sup> It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.

*radaḥ | karishyati mahabāho dhruvaṁ chāpachitam mama | Samantapan-  
chake punye triaku lokesu viśrute |*

The passage from the Śānti-parvan, v. 1414, is as follows: *Niśābde  
cha sthite tatra tato vipra-jane punaḥ | rājānam brāhmaṇa-chhadmā  
Chārvāko rākshaso 'bravīt | tatra Duryodhana-sakhā bhikṣu-rūpeṇa  
saṁvṛitāḥ | sākṣaḥ śikhī tridandī cha dhṛiṣṭo vigata-sādhasaḥ | vṛitāḥ  
sarvaiḥ tathā viprair āśtrvāda-vivakṣubhiḥ | paraṁ sahasraiḥ rājendra  
tapo-niyama-saṁvṛitaiḥ | sa duṣṭaḥ pāpam ūśaśuḥ Pāṇḍavānām ma-  
hātmanām | anūmantryaiva tān viprāṁs tam uvācha mahipatim | Chār-  
vākaḥ uvācha | ime prāhur dvijāḥ sarve samāropya vacho mayi | dhig  
bhavantaṁ kunṛipatiṁ jñāti-ghātinam astu vai | kim tena syād hi Kaunteya  
kṛitvemaṁ jñāti-sankshayam | ghātayitvā gurūṁś chaiva mṛitāṁ śreyo  
na jīvitaṁ | iti te vai dvijāḥ śrutvā tasya duṣṭasya rakshasaḥ | vivyathuḥ  
chukruḥś chaiva tasya vākya-pradharshitāḥ | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve sa  
cha rājā Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ | vṛiḍitāḥ paramodvignāś tūṣṇīm āsan viśāmpate |  
Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ uvācha | prasīdantu bhavanto me prajāṁśyābhiyāchataḥ |  
pratyāsanna-vyasaninaṁ na mām dhikkartum arhatha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ  
uvācha | tato rājan brāhmaṇāś te sarve eva viśāmpate | ūchur naitad  
vacho 'emākaṁ śrīr astu tava pāṛthiva | jajnuḥ chaiva mahātmanāś tatas  
tu jnāna-chakṣuṣhā | brāhmaṇāḥ veda-vidvāṁśś tapobhir vimalikṛitāḥ |  
brāhmaṇāḥ ūchuḥ | eṣha Duryodhana-sakhā Chārvāko nama rākshasaḥ |  
parivṛjaka-rūpeṇa hitaṁ tasya chikīrṣhati | na vāyam brūma dharmāt-  
man yetu te bhayam īdṛiṣam | upatiṣṭhatu kalyāṇam bhavantaṁ dhṛ-  
tṛibhiḥ saha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve hunkā-  
raiḥ krodha-mūrohkhitāḥ | nirbhartsayantaḥ śuchayo nijaghnuḥ pāpa-  
rākshasam | sa papāta vinirdagdhaś tejaśā brahmanvādinām | māhendra-  
śani-nirdagdhaḥ pādapo 'nḁuravān iva | pūjītāś cha yayur viprāḥ rājānam  
abhinandya tam | rājā bha haresham āpede Pāṇḍavaḥ sa-sukṛij-janaḥ |  
tatas tatra tu rājānam tiṣṭhantaṁ dhṛātṛibhiḥ saha | uvācha Devaki-  
putraḥ sarvadarśi Janūrdanaḥ | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | brāhmaṇāś tāta loka  
'eminṇ archanīyāḥ sadā mama | ste bhūmicharāḥ devāḥ vāg-viśāḥ supra-  
sādakāḥ | purā Kṛitayuge rājāṁś Chārvāko nāma rākshasaḥ | tapas tope  
mahabāho Vadaryām bahuvārshikam | varṣeṇa chhandyamānaś cha  
Brahmaṇā cha punaḥ punaḥ | abhayaṁ sarva-bhūtebhyo varayāmāsa  
Bhārata | dvijāvamānād anyatra prādād varam anuttamam | abhayaṁ  
sarvabhūtebhyo dadau tasmai Prajāpatiḥ | sa tu laḍḍha-varaḥ pāpo devān  
amita-vikramaḥ | rākshasas tāpayāmāsa tivrakarmā mahābalaḥ | 1414.*

“ When the Brahmins were again standing silent, the Rākshasa Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, a pretended Brahman, in the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his head, carrying three staves, bold, and shameless, addressed the king. Surrounded thus by all the Brahmins, thousands in number, who were devoted to austere observances, and who sought to utter blessings, this wretch, who wished ill to the great Pāṇḍavas, without consulting the Brahmins, thus spoke to the monarch: ‘ All these Brahmins, assigning the speech to me, utter an imprecation against thee, thou wicked king, slayer of thy kindred. What can come of this? Since thou hast destroyed thy kinsmen, and slaughtered thy elders, death is better for thee than life.’ Hearing the words of this wicked Rākshasa, the Brahmins were pained, and cried out, being provoked by his speech. All the Brahmins and king Yudhishtira, being ashamed and extremely vexed, remained silent. Then Yudhishtira said: ‘ Let all your reverences be gracious to me, who bow down, and supplicate you. You ought not to curse me, who have so recently been involved in calamity.’ All the Brahmins replied: ‘ These were not our words: prosperity be thine, O king!’ These great Brāhmins, learned in the Veda, purified by austerities, understood by the eye of knowledge (who Chārvāka was). They said: ‘ This is a Rākshasa called Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, who has assumed the form of a wandering mendicant, and desires his welfare. We say nothing (of what he pretends); let such an apprehension pass away from thee: may good fortune be the lot of thyself and thy brothers!’ The holy Brahmins then, furious with anger, slew the wicked Rākshasa, reviling him with loud menaces. Burnt up by the fervour of these utterers of the Veda, he fell, like a sprouting tree consumed by the lightning of Indra. The Brahmins honoured, departed, after saluting the king; and the Pāṇḍava monarch and his friends were glad. The all-seeing Janārdana, son of Devakī, then said to the king as he stood there with his brothers: ‘ The Brahmins are always to be revered by me in this world: they are gods who walk on the earth, whose words are poison, and also beneficent. Formerly, in the Krita age, a Rākshasa named Chārvāka practised austerity for many years at Badari. Having again and again received from Brahmā the offer of any boon which he might prefer, he chose that of security against all creatures. Prajāpati granted the incomparable boon which

he asked, on condition that he should not condemn the Brahmins. But the wicked Rākshasa of boundless valour, fierce in act, and great in force, having obtained the boon, began to vex the gods.'” The result is that they appeal to Brahmā, who assures them that he has provided for the speedy death of Chārvāka. Duryodhana will become his friend; and out of regard to him, he will treat the Brāhmins with disrespect; and they will destroy him. This has now been fulfilled.<sup>288</sup>

In his *Indische Studien*, i. 208, Professor Weber conjectures that “the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra (=Śiva)-worship, and the Pāṇḍus or Panchālas of the Indra (=Vishṇu)-worship,” and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the *Sabhā-parvan* (where Kṛishṇa is describing to Yudhisṭhira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Viṣṇu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

*Jarāsandham gatas tv eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-vijnāto yo 'sau Chediṣhu durmatih | ātmānam pratijānāti loko 'smiṁ Puroshottamam | ādatte satatam mohād yaḥ sa chiknaṁ cha māmakam | Vanga-Pundra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Paundrako Vāsudeveti yo 'sau loko 'bhiviśrutaḥ |* “And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—He who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Pundras.<sup>289</sup> He is mentioned also *Ādip.* v. 6992.

<sup>288</sup> Both passages had been previously translated by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xix., pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other text in the *Mahābhārata* in which the connexion of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though, from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. The passage referred to in the summary of the contents of the *Mahābhārata*, i. 349, must be the second of those here quoted.

<sup>289</sup> On this Lassen remarks (*i. p.* 608, first ed.; *p.* 754 f., second ed.): “Since

The following remarks of Prof. Weber on the preceding chapter (translated from a notice of this work in the "Literarisches Central-Blatt," reprinted in his "Indische Streifen," ii. 226 f.) may be introduced here, though they might perhaps have been more appropriately quoted in p. 97, or p. 163. "As regards the second part, the representation of the Vishṇu legends, it is impossible to arrive at any certain conception of the proper nature of this god from the documents presented to us. According to our view it would have been perhaps more advantageous for the course of the representation in general to start, not from the later triad of gods, but from the Vedio triad, which so often appears in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, viz. that of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, the rulers of the earth, the air, and the heaven; as we have in fact actually to recognize this as the foundation of the later triad. The sun, as the generative, creative, principle, is throughout the ritual-texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connexion with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of Śiva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishṇu, the lord of the solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation (see my two Vedic texts on omens and portents, p. 338). This close relation of Vishṇu to Indra is far from being estimated by the author in its full significance. Vishṇu owes to Indra his blue colour, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relations to the human heroes, as Arjuna, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa, which have become of such great importance for his entire history."

these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishṇu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishṇu."

## CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHĀDEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC  
HYMNS, AND THE BRAHMAÑAS.

IN the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Kṛishṇa's nature, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus anticipated much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representations which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R.V. i. 27, 10 (S.V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodha tad vividdhi viśe viśe yajñiyāya stomāṁ rudrāya dṛiṣṭikam* | “Thou who art skilled in praise, utter therefore for every house a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni).”<sup>1</sup> In connexion with this verse, Yāska remarks:

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudraḥ uchyate | tasya eṣā bhavati. . . .*  
*īarā stutiḥ | jarateḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ | tām bodha tayā bodhayitar iti vā |*  
*tad vividdhi<sup>2</sup> tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanāya stomāṁ*  
*Rudrāya darśanīyam* | “Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Benfey's version of this and following texts of the first maṇḍala of the R.V. in his “Orient und Occident.”

<sup>2</sup> See Westergaard, Benfey's Glossary to Sama-veda, and Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. viśa.



(the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarābodha*. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that "rudra" in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole "tricha," or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R. V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R. V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Aśvins,<sup>3</sup> respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ Sunaśsep̄ham uvācha "Rudraṁ stūhi raudrāḥ hi paśavaḥ" iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāhaṁ jñāmi Rudraṁ stotuṁ tvam eva etaṁ stūhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi |* "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunaśsep̄ha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Sunaśsep̄ha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R. V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetase mīlhus̄tāmāya taryase | vochema śantamāṁ hṛide |* 2. *Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam<sup>4</sup> |* 3. *Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraś chiketati | yathā viśve sajoshasaḥ |* 4. *Gūtha-patīm medha-patīm Rudraṁ jalāsha-bhesajam | tat śamyoh̄ sumnam īmahe |* 5. *Yāḥ śukraḥ iva sūryo hiranyam iva rochate | śreesh̄tho devānām vasuḥ |* 6. *Sam̄ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meshāya meshye | nṛibhyo nāribhyo gave |* "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who is the best and most bountiful of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows."

R. V. i. 64, 2.—*Te jajñire divaḥ rishvāsaḥ ukshaṇo Rudrasya maryaḥ asurāḥ arepasāḥ | pāvakāsaḥ śuchayaḥ sūryāḥ iva satvāno na drapsino*

<sup>3</sup> See also R. V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.

<sup>4</sup> "Rudra's favour" (Benfey). Compare *mārutasya bhesajasya* in R. V. viii. 20, 23.

*ghora-varpasah* | 3. *Yuvāno Rudrāḥ ajarāḥ abhogghano vavakshur adhrigavaḥ parvatāḥ iva* | *ḍrīḥā chid vīsvā bhuvanāni pārthivā prachyāvayanti divyāni majmanā* | . . . 12. *Ghṛishum pāvakaṁ vaninaṁ vicharahaṇiṁ Rudrasya sūnuṁ havasā grīṇimāsi* | *rajasuraṁ tavasam mārutaṁ gaṇam ṛijishinaṁ vṛishanaṁ saschata śriyo* | "These followers of Rudra have been produced from the Sky, exalted, fertilizing, divine, purifiers, bright as suns, like heroes, shedding drops, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the niggardly, resistless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all terrestrial and celestial creatures, however firm. . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing energetic offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the host of Maruts, which sweeps over the atmosphere, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing."<sup>5</sup>

R.V. i. 85, 1.—*Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayo<sup>6</sup> yāman Rudrasya sūnataḥ sudaṁsasah* | *rodasi hi marutaś chakrire vṛidhe madanti vīrūḥ vidatheshu ghṛishvayaḥ* | "The swift Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who, in their course, are bright like wives, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R.V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).—*Imāḥ Rudrāya tavase kapardīno<sup>7</sup> kshayad-vīrāya<sup>8</sup> prabharūmahe matīḥ* | *yathā*

<sup>5</sup> See Prof. Max Müller's version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his Translation of the R.V., vol. i.

<sup>6</sup> See Prof. Max Müller's note on this word, Translation of R.V. i. 110 ff. The word also occurs in R.V. x. 142, 2, as well as in the other texts enumerated by Müller, p. 112

<sup>7</sup> *Kapardīn* is also an epithet of Pūshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2: *Rathītanaṁ kapardinam īśānaṁ rādhaso mahāḥ* | *rūyaḥ sakhāyam īmahe* | "We solicit the great charioteer, adorned with spirally-braided hair, the lord of great bounty, and our friend, for wealth." And also in R.V. ix. 67, 10, 11: *Arīṭu no ajūsvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani* | *ābhōkshat kanyūsu naḥ* | 11. *Āyān somaḥ kapardīno ghṛitaṁ na pavate madhu* | *ū bhakshat kanyūsu naḥ* | "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damsels. 11. This soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he make us possessors of damsels." The word is also applied to the Tritus in R.V. vii. 83, 8. . . . . *Svītyancho yatra namasā kapardīno dhīyā dhīvanto asapanta Tritavaḥ* | . . . . . "Where the white-robed Tritus with braided hair have worshipped you with obseances and prayers." With this compare *dakshinatas-kapardāḥ* in R.V. vii. 33, 1. The word *Kapardīn* also occurs in R.V. x. 102, 2.

<sup>8</sup> This word is rendered "governing men" by Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. ii. (published 1866-1868), who first cite, as determining the sense of the word, R.V.

śam asad dvīpade chatushpade viśvam puṣṭaṁ grāme asminn anāturam |  
 2. (=T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2) *Mṛṣa no Rudra uta no mayas kṛdhi kshayad-  
 vīrāya namaśā vidhema te | yat śaṁ cha yośoḥa Manur a yeje pitā tad  
 aśyāma tavo Rudra prāṇītiṣhu |* 3. *Aśyāma te sumatiṁ deva-yajyaya  
 kshayad-vīrasya tava Rudra miḍhvaḥ | sumnāyann id viśo asmākam  
 āchāra arishṭa-vīrāḥ juhāvāma te haviḥ |* 4. *Iveshaṁ vāyāṁ Rudraṁ*

viii. 19, 10 *Yasya tvam ūrāho adhvārāya tishṭhasi kshayadvīraḥ sa sūdhate | so  
 arvadbhik samitā sa vipanyubhik sa śūraiḥ samitā kṛtam |* "The man to whom thou  
 hoverest over the sacrifice, prospers as a commander of heroes he, with horses, with  
 triumphant men, with heroes, will acquire spoil" Benfey also (Orient and Occident,  
 iii. pp. 140 and 156) renders the word "governing heroes", and adds in a note on  
 the latter page "Are the heroes, the single stormy winds, the maruts (comp. v. 6)  
 over whom Rudra rules, or is Rudra generally designated as the lord of all heroes,  
 inasmuch as he makes them swift, and destructive as storm-winds, in battle?"  
 'Destroyer of heroes,' as Whitney proposes, ('slayer of men,' Journal of the American  
 Oriental Society, vol. iii, p. 319, published in 1853), is not specially suitable  
 in R.V. viii. 19, 10, or in other places." Professor Aufrecht translates the word  
 "ruling over men" (as well as gods). Rudra, he remarks, is called *īśānāśa*  
*bhuvanasya bhūriḥ*, "lord over this manifold creation," in R.V. ii. 33, 9, and  
 compares *sed u rājā kshayati charaṇānām* in i. 32, 15, and the similar phrases  
 in i. 112, 3, and x 9, 5. Kshayadvīra is, he believes, nothing more than the usual  
*nṛpati*. It is true, Professor Aufrecht adds, that in i. 114, 8, it is said of Rudra,  
 "do not strike our children in thy anger," and that in iv 3, 6, he is called *nṛhan*,  
 but he does not think it likely that in one particular hymn a word should have a  
 quite different meaning from that which it has in all other passages, and regards it  
 as quite possible that *nṛhan* may be based on a false interpretation of *kshayadvīra*.  
 Sāyana renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10,  
 he interprets it *nivasadbhir itvarair vā vīraiḥ putradbhir upetaḥ |* i.e. "attended by  
 heroes, sons, etc., dwelling or moving." On i. 106, 4, where it is an epithet of Pūshan,  
 he explains it *ati-batnam | yasmun sarve vīrāḥ kshiyante*, i.e. "very powerful. he in  
 whom all heroes are consumed." On the passage before us, i. 114, 1, he gives two possible  
 explanations of it. *Kshayanto vinasīyanto vīrāḥ yasmun ūdrisūya | yadvī kshayatur  
 aśvaryaḥarmā | kshayantah prāptasvaryaḥ vīrāḥ Marudgāṇah putrāḥ yasya |* "He  
 in whom heroes perish; or, as the root *ksh* also means 'exercising authority,'—he of  
 whom the Maruts, heroes, exercising authority, are the sons." The same verse  
 occurs in Vāj. S., xvi. 48, where Mahidhara interprets the phrase *Kshayanto niva-  
 santo vīrāḥ śūrāḥ yatra sa kshayadvīras tasma śūra-yūtāya ity arthah | kshayanto  
 nasīyanto vīrāḥ rupo yasmād iti vā |* "He in whom heroes dwell is *kshayadvīra*,  
 to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish." On the  
 second and third verses of i. 114, Sāyana repeats in different words the explanations  
 he had given on the first verse (*Kshayata-sarva-vīram prāptasvaryaṁ marudbhū  
 yuktam vā | kshayata-pratipakṣasya Marudbhir yuktasya vā*). On verse 10, he  
 confines himself to the one explanation, *Kshayata-sarva-īatru-jana*. In R.V. i.  
 125, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra, where Sāyana expounds it thus  
*Kshayanto nvasanto vīrāḥ putra-bhṛityādayo yasya taṁ tādṛśam tvad-śakṭa-sādhanā-  
 bahu-dhana-pradātāram |* "He in whom heroes, sons, servants, etc., abide—the giver  
 of much wealth, which is the instrument of obtaining thy wishes."

*yajna-sādhaṁ vanluṁ kavim avase nihvayāmahe | āre asmad daivyaṁ helo  
asyatu sumatim id vayam asya ā vṛiṇīmahe | 5. Divo varāham aruṣhaṁ  
kapardīnaṁ tveshaṁ rūpaṁ namaṣā nihvayāmahe | haste bibhṛad bheshajā  
vāryāṇi śarma varma chhardir asmabhyaṁ yaṁsat | 6. Idam pitre Maru-  
tām uchyaṭe vachah svādoḥ svādīyo Rudrāya vardhanam | rāsva cha no  
amṛita marta-bhōjanaṁ tmane tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa | 7 (= V. S. 16,  
15; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2; A. V. ii. 2, 29). Mā no mahāntam uta mā no  
arbhakam mā naḥ ukshantam uta mā naḥ ukshitam | mā no badhīḥ pītaram  
mota mātaram mā naḥ priyās tanto Rudra rīrishah | 8. (V. S. 16, 16;  
T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3). Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau (āyushi V. S., T. S.)  
mā no goṣhu mā no aśveshu rīrishah | vīrān mā no bhāmīto (bhāmīno  
V. S., T. S.) badhīr havishmantah sadam it tvā havāmahe | 9. Upa te stomān  
paśu-pāḥ vākaram rāsva pītara Marutām sunnam asme | bhadrā hi te  
sumatir mṛiḷayatlamā aha vayam avah it te vṛiṇīmahe | 10. (T. S. iv.  
5, 10, 3). Āre te go-ghnam uta pūruṣa-ghnam lshayad-vīra sunnam  
asme te astu | mṛiḷa cha no adhī cha brūhi deva adha cha naḥ śarma  
yachha dvi-barhāḥ | 11. Avochāma namo asmaī avasyavaḥ sṛiṇotu no  
haviṁ Rudro marutān | tan no Mitro Varuṇo mamahantām Aditiḥ  
sindhuh prithivī uta dyauh |*

“We present these prayers to Rudra,\* the strong, with spirally-

\* Sāyana, in his note on this verse, gives no less than six explanations of the word Rudra, which I subjoin, as a specimen of commentorial ingenuity

*Rodayati sarvam antakāle iti Rudrah | yadvū rut saṁsārākhyāṁ duḥkham | tad  
drūyaty apagamayati smūḍayati iti Rudrah | yadvū rutah śabda-īpāḥ upaniṣha-  
dah | tābhīr drūyate gamyate pratpādyaṭe iti Rudrah | yadvū rut śabdātmiḥ vāṇi  
tat-pratpādyaṭma-vidyū id | tam upāsakebhyo iṭi dadāti iti Rudrah | yadvū ruṇa-  
ddhy āvṛiṇoti iti rud anāhātādi | tad drūṇāti vīdārayati iti Rudrah | yadvū kadā-  
chid devāsura-saṅgrāme 'gny-ūtmaḥ Rudro devaṁ nīkṣiptvā dhānam apahritya  
niragāt | asuṇān jitvā devāḥ itam anuśhyā dṛiṣtvā dhānam apāhavan | tadānīm  
arudat | itasmād Rudrah ity ākhyāyate |* “He is called Rudra (1) because he makes  
every one weep (*rodayati*) at the destruction of the world. Or (2) *rut* means the  
suffering called the world. He drives away (*drūyaty*), removes, destroys, that:  
therefore he is named Rudra. Or (3) *rut* in the plural means the Upanishads, which  
are composed of words: by them he is attained, expounded (*drūyate*) therefore he  
is termed Rudra. Or (4) *rut* signifies language composed of words, or the science of  
soul which is to be explained by it this he gives (*ḍāti*) to his worshippers. hence  
he is denominated Rudra. Or (5) the root *rudh* means to shut, cover, and therefore  
*rut* means darkness, etc.: he tears (*drūṇāti*), rends, it. therefore he is designated as  
Rudra. Or (6) when on one occasion there was a battle between the gods and  
Asuras, Rudra having the nature of Agni carried off the treasures which had been  
thrown down by the gods and went away. But the gods, after conquering the  
Asuras, sought him, saw him, and took the treasures from him. then he wept (*arudat*),  
and from that he is called Rudra.”

braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to our two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our divine worship obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our men unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the swift, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the ruddy boar of the sky, with spirally-braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us protection, defence, shelter. 6. This exhilarating hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, O immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men (life, V.S.), nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our men in thine anger (angry men, V.S.): we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. As a keeper of cattle (brings victims), so have we brought praises near to thee:<sup>10</sup> bestow on us thy favour, O father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy blessing be with us. Be gracious to us, O god, and take our side; bestow on us mightily thy protection. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May

<sup>10</sup> Compare R.V. x. 127, 8, quoted by Böhlingk and Roth, *s.v.* *kar+upa+ā*: *upa te gāḥ iva ākaram vṛjīṣhva duhitar divaḥ* | *Rātri stomān na jigyuṣhe* | "I have, O Night, brought before thee (praises) as it were cows; choose (them, daughter of the Sky), as it were a hymn to a conqueror." Sāyaṇa (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: *Yathā paśūnām pūlayitā gopaḥ prātaḥkūle evasmai amarpitān paśūn sūyāṁkūle svāmibhyaḥ pratyarpayati evaṁ tvat sakāśāt labdhān stutirūpān mantrān stūti-sādhanatayā tubhyam pratyarpayāmi* | "As a cattle-herd returns to the owners in the evening the cattle entrusted to him in the morning, so I, by the fulfilment of praise, give back to thee the laudatory hymns received from thee."

Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. Then may Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, gladden us."

In Sāyaṇa's annotations on the sixth verse, he quotes the following later story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

*Rudrasya Marutām pitṛitvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jigāya | tadānīm Ditiḥ Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putram kūmayamānā tapasā bhartuḥ sakāśād garbhaṁ lebbe | imām vṛittāntam avagachhann Indro vajra-hastāḥ san sūkṣma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyāḥ udaram praviśya taṁ garbhaṁ saptaadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikāṁ sapta-khaṇḍam akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśāḥ yoner nirgatyārūdan | etasminn avasare līlārthaṁ gachhantau Pārvatī-parameśvarāv imān da-dṛśīsatuḥ | Maheśam prati Pārvaty evam avochat | "ime māṁsa-khaṇḍāḥ yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantūm eveṁ trayā lāryam mayi chet prītir asti" iti | sa cha Maheśvaras tūn samāna-rūpān samāna-rayasaḥ samānālankārān putrān kṛtvā Gauryai pradadau "taveme putrāḥ santo" iti | ataḥ sarveshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrāḥ iti ślūyante Raudreshu cha Marutām pitā Rudraḥ iti |*

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her foetus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being in one part of the foetus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, 'If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.' Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, 'Let those be thy sons.' Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On R.V. viii. 28, 5, Sāyaṇa has the following note: *Atra purātanī kathā | Indra-samānam putram icchāntiyāḥ Aditir garbhāsya kenachit kāraṇena Indreṇa saptaadhā bhinnatvāt sa garbhaḥ sapta-gaṇātmako bhavat | tato Marutaḥ sampannāḥ |*

R.V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vaḥ pāntaṁ raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajnaṁ Rudrāya mīlhuṣhe bharadvam | divo astoshi asurasya<sup>13</sup> vitrair iṣudhyā iva Maruto rodasyoḥ |* "Present, ye zealous (priests), to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. I have praised him with the heroes of the divine Sky: may I (with my prayer) as it were aim at the Maruts in heaven and earth."

R.V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi śhma vṛṣhanam pīnvasi tvacham kaṁ chid yāvīr ararum kūra martyam parivṛṇakṣi martyam | Indrota tubhyaṁ tad Dīve tad Rudrāya eva-yaśase | Mitrāya vocam Varuṇāya saprathaḥ sumṛṇikāya saprathaḥ |* "Thou (Indra), who art energetic, fillest the teeming skin (the cloud?): thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this to thee, and this to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuna abundantly, to the very gracious, abundantly."

R.V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvam śardho mārutam priksaḥ iśuṣhe | tvam iṭair aruṇair yāsi saṁgayas tvam Pūṣhā vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā |* "Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the great spirit (*asura*) of the sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of nourishment. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee."

"*sapta-gaṇāḥ vaḥ Marutaḥ*" *its śruteḥ* | "Regarding this there is an ancient story. The father of Aditi, who desired to have a son equal to Indra, having been for some reason divided by Indra into seven parts, it became formed into seven troops. Thence the Maruts were produced. For a Vedic text says, "The Maruts are divided into seven troops." Unless the reading in the latter of these two passages is incorrect, it will be observed that the mother of the Maruts is variously represented to be Diti and Aditi. As in the first of the two texts Diti is defined as the mother of the Aśuras, the reading there must be correct, and the Maruts must have been regarded by the writer as her sons. In the hymns they are said to be the sons of Rudra and Pṛān; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 147 f.

<sup>13</sup> Compare with *divo asurasya*, R.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases *Dyaus asuraḥ*, "the divine Sky," and *Divas putrāṁ asurasya*, "the sons of the divine Sky," occur. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for an explanation of the sense of this half verse. He holds *iṣudhyā* as put for *iṣudhyām*, the 1st pers. sing. of the imperative of the root *iṣudhy*. See Dr. Bollenstein's article in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., "Die Lieder des Parāśara," p. 577, where other instances of the suffix *ni* being omitted in this part of the verb are given.

See above (p. 76 f.) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishnu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7. Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra :

*Rud duḥkhaṁ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā śtan-nāmakō devo' si |* " *Rudro vai eṣha yad Agnir*" *ity ādīśhv Agneḥ Rudra-śabdēna vyavahārāt | yadevā tvam Rudraḥ | rauti | mām anīṣṭvā narāḥ duḥkhe patīshyanti | Rudras tādrīso 'si |* " *Rut* means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (*rud-drāvayitā*); for Agni is intended by the word Rudra in such passages as this, 'He who is Agni is Rudra.' Or, thou art Rudra. He cries: Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra," etc.

R.V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā to pitar Marutām sumnam etu mā naḥ sūryasya saṁdrīso yuyothāḥ | abhi no vīro arvati kṣameta pra jāyemahi Rudra prajābhiḥ |* 2. *Tvā-dattebhiḥ Rudra saṁtamebhiḥ śataṁ himā āśīya bheṣhajebhiḥ | vi aśmad dvesho vitarāṁ vi aṁho vi amivās chātayava viśvūohiḥ |* 3. *S'reṣṭho jātasya Rudra śriyā 'si tavastamas tavasāṁ vajra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti viśvāḥ abhītīḥ rapaso yuyodhi |* 4. *Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhūma namobhir mā dushṭutī vṛiṣabha mā saḥūti | ud no vīrūn arpeya bheṣhajebhir bhīṣaktamaṁ tvā bhīṣajām śrinomi |* 5. *Havīmabhir havate yo havirbhir ava stomebhiḥ Rudraṁ diśhiya | rīdūdaraḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhruḥ susiprō rīradhad manūyai |* 6. *Ud mā mamandu vṛiṣabho marutvān tvakṣīyasā vayasā nādhamanam | ghrīṇīca<sup>13</sup> chhūyām arapāḥ āśīya ū vivāseyaṁ Rudrasya sumnam |* 7. *Kva sya te Rudra mṛilayākur hasto yo asti bheṣajo jalā-shaḥ | apabhartā rapaso dāṛyasya abhi nu mā vṛiṣabha okakṣamithāḥ |* 8. *Pra babhrove vṛiṣabhāya śvītiche maho mahīm suhṭutīm irayāmi | namasyā kalmāṭikinaṁ namobhir grīṇīmāsi tveshaṁ Rudrasya nāma<sup>14</sup> |* 9. *Sthirebhir angair puru-rūpaḥ ugro babhruḥ śukrebhiḥ pipīṣe hiranyaiḥ | īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vai u yoshad Rudrād asuryam |* 10. *Arhan bibharshe śāyakāni dhanva arhan nīṣktaṁ yajataṁ viśvarūpam | arhann idam dayaso viśvam abhvaṁ na vai oṣṭyo Rudra tvad asti |*

<sup>13</sup> See Dr. Bollensen's article in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, ii. 474, where he says *ghrīṇī* is a locative or instrumental. Bohtlingk and Roth judge differently. See *s.v.*

<sup>14</sup> Compare R.V. vii. 100, 8, above, p. 87.



11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3, 4). *Stuhi śrutam garta-sadam yuvānam mṛigaṁ na bhīmam<sup>15</sup> upahatnum agram | mṛiḥa jaritre Rudra stavāro anyam te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ |* 12. *Kumāras chit pitarām vandamānam prati nanāma Rudra upayantam | bhūrur dātaram satpatiṁ grīṇiṣhe stutas tvam bheṣhajā rūsi asme |* 13. *Yā vo bheṣajā Marutaḥ śuchini yā śāntamā vṛiṣhaṇo yā mayobhu | yāni Manur avṛiṇita pitā na tā śam cha yoccha Rudrasya vaśmi |* 14 (V. S. 16, 50; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 4). *Pari no hetih Rudrasya vṛijyūḥ<sup>16</sup> (vriṇaktu, V. S., T. S.) pari tveshasya durmatir mahi gāt | ava sthirā maghavadbhyas tanushva miḍhvas tokāya tanayāya mṛiḥa |* 15. *Eva babhro vṛiṣabha chekitāna yathā deva na hrīṇiṣhe na haṁsi | havana-śrud no Rudra iha bodhi bṛihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ |*

"1. Father of the Maruts, may thy blessing come (to us): remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and distress, and diseases, to a distance. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, O wielder of the thunderbolt. Carry us happily across our calamity: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns avert (propitiate) that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this ill will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god], attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with robust health. May I, free from injury, obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade in the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the blessing of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative? Removing the evil which comes from the gods, spare me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I joyfully send forth a great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, luminous god.

<sup>15</sup> Compare similar modes of speaking about Vishnu, Indra, Varuna, etc., above, p. 69 and note 18.

<sup>16</sup> See in the note to Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 86, other instances of similar forms, apparently of the 2nd pers. sing., standing for the 3rd pers.

Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. With firm limbs, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been arrayed with bright golden (ornaments).<sup>17</sup> Divine power can never be removed from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, fitly, holdest arrows and a bow; fitly, thou [wearest] a glorious necklace of every form (of beauty). Fitly, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful god, mounted on his chariot, terrible as a wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts prostrate some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] O Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of heroes. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are salutary, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu desired<sup>18</sup>—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the impetuous [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong [bows so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. O tawny and vigorous god, so taking heed of us, as neither to be incensed against us, nor to injure us—think of us now, Rudra, hearing our invocations; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāvo na śtribhīś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta vṛiṣṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakshaso vṛiṣhā 'jani priśnyāḥ sukro ūdhani* | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with<sup>1</sup> their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Priśni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | na arāṭayas tam idaṁ svasti huve devaṁ Savi-*

<sup>17</sup> See *sukra-piś*, Nir. viii. 11 = R.V. x. 110, 6; and Roth, Erl. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 453 f., where some remarks of Dr. Bollensen (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, xxii. 587 ff.) are quoted, in which this passage, with others, is adduced to show that images of the gods were common in the Vedic age.

<sup>18</sup> Compare i. 114, 2, above, pp. 302 and 304.

*tāraṁ namobhiḥ* | "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

In the next text, 'rudra' is merely an epithet of Agni.

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agniṁ sumnāya dadhīre puro janāḥ vāja-śravasam*<sup>19</sup> *iha vṛikta-barhiṣaḥ* | *yata-sruṣaḥ suruṣaṁ viśva-devyaṁ rudraṁ yajñā-nāṁ sādhad-īkṣīm apasām* | "Men, having prepared the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his blessing, placed in their front Agni, renowned for wealth, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (*rudra*), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

In the first verse of the hymn next quoted also, 'rudra' is merely an epithet of Agni. In verse 6, on the other hand, Rudra is the name of a god.

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo vājānam adhvaryasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya-yajam rodasyoḥ* | *Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiraṇya-rūpam avase kṛinudhvam* | 6. *Kad dhishnyāsu vṛidhasāno Agno kad Vātāya pratavase śubhānye* | *parijmane nāsatyāya kṣhe bravaḥ kad Agno Rudrāya nṛi-ghno*<sup>20</sup> | (verse 7 is quoted above, p. 78). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacrifice, the invoker in both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. Wilt thou, Agni, who delightest in the altars, wilt thou declare [our sin]<sup>21</sup> to Vāta, the energetic, the bestower

<sup>19</sup> This word is explained by Sāyaṇa in this place as = *manuṣhyebhyaḥ preritānnam*, "who has sent food to men," and on R.V. vi. 36, 4, as = *vājair balair prasiddhāḥ*, "famed for force." In the Nighantus (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to *vāja*, "food," and "battle," and to *śravas* are ascribed (ii. 7, 10) the meanings "food," and "wealth." In the Nirukta iv. 24 (where R.V. iv. 38, 5, is explained), the senses "praise" or "wealth" are attributed to the latter word; in Nir. ix. 10, the sense of "praise"; in Nir. x. 3, that of "food"; and in Nir. xi. 9, that of "renown." Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *vāja* the senses (1) of "swiftness, spirit," (2) "running a race, conflict," (3) "prize of victory in a race, spoil," (4) "gain, reward, valuable possession," etc.; and explain the compound *vāja-śravas*, "contending in a race," comparing it with *vāja-srit*, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Sāyaṇa in R.V. ix. 43, 5, as = *sangrāma-saragaḥ*, "moving in battle."

Prof. Aufrecht sees no reason why *vājaśravas* should be interpreted differently from *vasuśravas*, and translates it "renowned for power or wealth," comparing *gomad vājavat śravas*, R.V. i. 9, 7; *vājāya, śravase iṣhe cha*, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 67, 5; iv. 36, 9; *mahi śravo vājam*, vi. 70, 5; *sa vājam darohi sa iha śravo dhāh*, x. 69, 3; *vājam ukthyam*, x. 140, 1; *abhi vājam uta śravaḥ*, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; *vājam jushī śravo bṛihat*, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *puruṣa-ghnam* in i. 114, 10, above, p. 303. <sup>21</sup> See the preceding verse.

of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful? Wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R.V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuṇo Aryamā "yur. Indrah Rībhukshāḥ Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā yo dadhate svapiktīm stomañ Rudrāya mīlhushe sajoshāḥ |* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Rībhukshan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R.V. v. 42, 11.—*Tam u shtuhi yaḥ vishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya kshayati bhesajasya | yakshva mahe saumanasūya Rudrañ namobhir devam asurañ duvasya | . . . 15. Esha stoma mārutañ śardho accha Rudrasya sūnūn yuvanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādi |* "Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . 15. May this hymn ascend to the troop of Maruts, to the sons of Rudra, who comport themselves as youths," etc.

R.V. v. 46, 2 (V.S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devāḥ no adya svastaye vaiśvānaro vasur Agniḥ svastaye | devāḥ avantu Rībhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudrah pātu aṁhasaḥ |* "May all the gods, may Agni, the beneficent, worshipped by all men, may the divine Rībhus, preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from calamity."

R.V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra yo me bandhvesho gūm vochanta sūrayaḥ Prīṣniṁ vochanta mātaram | adha pitaram ishmināṁ Rudrañ vochanta śikvasaḥ |* "These wise and powerful [Maruts], who, when I was inquiring after their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Prīṣni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father" (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—*Mimātu Dyaus Aditir vitaye naḥ saṁ dānu-chitrāḥ ushaso yatantām | āchuchyavur divyañ koṣam ete riṣhe Rudrasya Maruto grīṇānāḥ |* "May Dyaus and Aditi provide for our enjoyment: may the dawns, glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, O rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down."

R.V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshthāso akanishthāsaḥ ete saṁ bhrātaro vāvṛidhuḥ saubhagāya | yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudrah oshāñ sudughā Prīṣniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ |* "These brothers (the Maruts), among whom there

is no distinction of elder and younger (comp. R. V. v. 59, 6, where also these epithets occur), have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Priśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts."

R.V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugraḥ iva śarya-hā tigma-śringo na vaṁsagaḥ | Agne puro rujojitha |* "Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles."

On this the commentator remarks: "*Rudro vai esha yad Agnir*" *iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kṛitam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛitam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate |* "For the Veda says that 'this Agni is Rudra.' It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni." Another explanation of the commentator is that Agni was present in Rudra's arrow on that occasion. All this, however, is merely said with the view of bringing the Veda into harmony with later stories.

R.V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatīḥ sūyavaśāṁ riśantiḥ śuddhāḥ apaḥ suprapāṇe pibantiḥ | mā vaḥ stenāḥ īśata mā 'ghaśaṁsaḥ pari' vo hetīḥ Rudrasya vṛjyāḥ |* "Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you."

R.V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pitarāṁ gīrbhīr ābhīḥ Rudraṁ divā vardhaya Rudram aktau | bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaraṁ sushumnam ṛidhag huvema kavinesshitāsaḥ |* "Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, severally invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the beneficent."

R.V. vi. 50, 4.—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namāntām ādya hūtaśo Vasavo adhṛishṭāḥ | ityādi |* (verse 12 is quoted above, p. 82). "May the sons of Rudra, the irresistible Vasus (or gods), invoked to-day, stoop down to us," etc. . . . v. 12 (translated above, p. 82).

R.V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīlhusaḥ santi putrāḥ yāṁś cho nu dādhrivir bharaḍhyai | vido hi mātā maho mahi sā sā it Priśniḥ subho garbham ā adhāt | . . . 11. Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-ṛishṭīm Rudrasya sūnuḥ havasā ā vivāse | ityādi |*—"Those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Priśni was

pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra," etc.

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethaṁ asuryam pra vām ishṭayo 'ram aśnuvantu | dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade |* 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). *Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihataṁ viśhūchīm amīvū yā no gayam āviveśa | āre bādhetthāṁ Nirṛitim parāchhair asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu |* 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). *Somā-Rudrā yuvam etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bheśhajūni dhattam | ava syatam mun-chataṁ yad no usti tanūshu baddhaṁ kṛitam eno asmat |* 4. *Tigmā-yudhau tigma-hetī susevau Somā Rudrāv iha su mṛīlataṁ naḥ | pra no munchataṁ Varuṇasya pāsād gopāyataṁ naḥ sumanasyamūnā |* "Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you! In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive far away that disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirṛiti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour."

R.V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshāḥ Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vaha bṛihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṁ viśva-janyām Bṛihaspatim rikvabhir viśva-vāram |* "Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra; with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Bṛihaspati who grants all boons."

R.V. vii. 35, 6.—. . . *Saṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāśaḥ . . .* "May the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante asya sakhyāṁ vayasā cha namasvināḥ sve ritasya dhāman | vi prikeśo bābadhe nṛibhiḥ stavānāḥ idāṁ namo Rudrāya preshṭham |* "Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R.V. vii. 40, 5 (quoted and translated above, p. 85).

R.V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim*

*prātar Indraṁ havāmāhe prātar Mitrā-Varuṇa prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūṣaṇam Brahmanaspatim prātāḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huveṃa |*  
 "In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūṣan, Brahmanaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imāḥ Rudrāya sthira-dhanvāno girāḥ kṣhipreshavo devāya svadhāvo*<sup>22</sup> | *ashālḥāya sahamānāya vedhase tigṃāyudhāya bhārata śrīṇotu naḥ | 2. Sa hi kṣhayeṇa kṣhamyasya janmanaḥ sāmṛāyena divyasya chetati | avann avantīr upa no duras̄ chara anamīvo Rudra jāsu no bhava | 3* (Nirukta x. 7).—*Yā te didyud avasṛiṣṭā divas pari kṣmayā charati pari sā vṛinaktu naḥ | sahasraṃ te svapivāta*<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvat* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Roth assigns to *svadhām* *anv*, etc., the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R.V. i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7. On *svadhā* see also Prof. Müller's Transl. of the R.V., pp. 19-25.

<sup>23</sup> This word is not explained in the printed text of Śāyana; although in the "Varietas Lectionis," appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, *svapivāta* is rendered by *jītaprāṇa*, "he by whom life (or breath) is conquered." In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by *svōpta-vachana*, "thou whose words are very suitable or authoritative." In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 136 f., Prof. Roth has some remarks on the word, which I translate: "*Svapivāta* in the Pada text is divided into *su-+apivāta*, and is consequently to be derived from *api-+vat*, a compound, which is often found in the R.V., viz. in vii. 3, 10, *api kratum̄ suchetasam̄ vatema*; vii. 60, 6, *api kratum̄ suchetasam̄ vatantaḥ*; i. 128, 2, *taṃ yajna-sādham̄ api vatayāmasi*; i. 165, 13, *manmāni chitrāḥ api vātayantaḥ*; x. 25, 1, *bhadrām no api vātaya mano dakṣham̄ uta kratum̄*; x. 13, 5, *pitre putrāso apy avivātann̄ ṛitam̄* | It has the signification of 'learning to understand,' 'appropriating to one's self,' and in the causal 'to teach to understand,' agreeing entirely with the Zend word of similar form, which as yet no one had been able to discover in Sanskrit. The word (*svapivāta*) thus means 'readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.' Yāska's explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by *anatikramaṇīyājña* ('thou whose command cannot be transgressed')." I have to remark, however, that if Yāska's phrase *svōpta-vachana* have the sense I have above assigned to it of "speaking with authority," (see the third vol. of this work, pp. 124, 127 f., and elsewhere) it means nearly what Durga asserts. Prof. Roth, however, must have taken it to mean "thou by whom words (prayers) are readily received, or apprehended." Otherwise it could not harmonize with the sense he regards as the right one. In his Lexicon, s.v. *vat-+api*, Prof. Roth adheres to the meanings assigned to the compound verb in his "Illustrations," rendering it "to understand, comprehend," and in the causal "to cause to understand, to make comprehensible"; and assigning to the words *bhadrām no api vātaya manaḥ* in x. 20, 1 and x. 25, 1, the sense of "awaken in us a good sense." Prof. Aufrecht assigns to

*bheshajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu śriṣhaḥ* | 4. *Mā no vadhiḥ Rudra mā parā dāḥ mā te bhūma prasitau hīṣitasya* | *ā no bhaja bārkishījīva-bāṁso*<sup>24</sup> *gūyam pata svastibhiḥ sādā naḥ* | "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. Through his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and through his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Give us a share in the sacrifice desired by the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R.V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433).—*Ke iṁ vyaktāḥ naraḥ sanilūḥ Rudrasya maryāḥ adha svastāḥ* | 2. *Nakir hi eṣāṁ janūmahī veda te anga vidre mitho janitram* | "Who are these brilliant heroes, the sons of Rudra, occupying the same abode, riding on excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R.V. vii. 58, 5.—*Tūn ā Rudrasya mīḥusho vivāso ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

*svapivāta* the sense "possessed of great knowledge," from *su+apivāta*, "intelligence, knowledge," which again comes from *api+vat*, to which he considers that the proper meaning has been assigned by Prof. Roth. Sūyana explains as follows the texts quoted above, viz. R.V. vii. 3, 10: *Apy api cha kratum karma yajñānāṁ kartāraṁ vā suhetasam śobhāna-prajñāna-yuktaṁ suprajñānam putraṁ vā vātana sambhajemahi* | *vanateḥ sambhajanārthasya varjāntarāgame sati rūpam* | "And further may we gain a rite, or a performer of sacrifices possessed of good intelligence, or a very intelligent son. *Van*, which means 'to divide' (or gain), becomes *vat* by the alteration of a letter." He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: *Api suhetasam prakṛiṣṭa-jñānavantam pūrusham kratuṁ kartāraṁ karmānushīḥṇānavantam vātantu gachhantaḥ* | "going to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence." The verb in R.V. i. 128, 2, is thus expounded: *ā paritosaṁ sevāmahe* "we serve till we are satisfied"; and in i. 185, 13, thus: *sampūrṇam prapayantaḥ*, "completely bringing to us"; in x. 20, 1, by *āgamaya*, "cause to come"; in x. 25, 1, by *gamaya*, "cause to go"; in x. 13, 5, by *āgamayanti*, "cause to go together."

<sup>24</sup> This word appears from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon to occur twice in the R.V., viz. in i. 104, 6, and the present passage. They make it a substantive, signifying "rule over the living." Benfey, in his translation of i. 104, 6, renders the word "to be praised among men." Sūyana has there *kūmayitavye*, "to be desired"; and here *śāntasantiye*, which means the same.



R.V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yahvam pratneshu dhāmasu | mano yatra vi tad dadhur vichetasah |* "That great (manifestation) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)<sup>25</sup>] is perceived in the ancient abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds."

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasah | yuvānas tathā it asat |* "As the youthful sons of Rudra, the wise deity of the sky, desire, so shall it be."

R.V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . *Tū u namobhir imāhe | 14. Tāv id doṣhā tāv ushasi śubhas pati tū yāman rudra-varṇanī<sup>26</sup> | mā no martāya ripave vājini-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam |* "We invoke them (the Āsvin), with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible (*rudrau*) lords of swift horses,<sup>27</sup> abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R.V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 90).

R.V. viii. 61, 3 — *Antar ichhanti tam jano rudram paro manīṣhayā | grībhṇanti jīhvayā sasam<sup>28</sup> |* "They entreat the god (Agni), who is terrible (*rudra*) beyond all thought,<sup>29</sup> [to enter] among the people. With their tongue they take food (or seize him sleeping)."

R.V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta sasarūḥ nadyo mahir apo vanuspatin parvatān Agnim ūtaye | Kṛisānum astrin Tishyam sadhasṭhe ā Rudraṁ Rudreshu rudriyam havāmahe |* "We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛisānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, among the Rudras, and possessing their character."

<sup>25</sup> Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* *rudra*, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra. The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.

<sup>26</sup> This word *rudra-varṇanī* is also applied to the Āsvin in the first verse of this hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare *kṛiṣṇavarṇanī* and *kṛiṣṇādḥvan* as applied to Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.

<sup>27</sup> This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to *vājini-vasū*. Sāyana renders it by *annavarū* (R.V. v. 74, 6), *annadhāna* (x. 40, 12) "rich in food." Elsewhere he also takes *vājini* for food or oblation.

<sup>28</sup> This word is given in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 7, as signifying food. Sāyana takes it to mean "sleeping," and renders the last clause "men through praise sprung from their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers" (*jīhvā-prabhavayā stutyā grībhṇanti grībhṇanti angulibhiḥ*). See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 65 and 85 f.; also R.V. i. 61, 3 (where Benfey renders *sasena* "in sleep"); iii. 5, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7, 7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.

<sup>29</sup> This interpretation is confirmed by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* *manīṣhā*, who refer to R.V. v. 17, 2, as another passage where the phrase occurs.

R.V. x. 65, 1 (quoted and translated above, p. 95).

R.V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu | Rudro Rudrebhir devo mṛīlayāti nas Tvashṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu |* “May Indra with the Vasus preserve our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashṭri with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity.”

R.V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudrena yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahīm aramatiṃ<sup>30</sup> dadhanvire | yebhiḥ pariṃmā pariyaṇu uru jrayo vi roruvaj jathare viśvam ukshate | . . . 9. Stomaṃ vo adya Rudrāya śikvase kahayad-vīrāya namasā didiśṭana | yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayūvabhir divaḥ sishakti<sup>31</sup> sva-yasūḥ nikāmaḥ |* “The waters flow [impelled] by the hastening Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, shouting god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], moistens all (that is contained) in its womb. . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky.”

R.V. x. 93, 4.—*Te gha rājāno amṛitasya<sup>32</sup> mandrāḥ Aryamā Mitro Varuṇaḥ pariṃmā | kad Rudro nṛiṇām stuto Marutaḥ Pūṣhano Bhagaḥ | . . . 7. Uta no rudrā chid mṛīlatām Aśvinā ityādi |* “These are the

<sup>30</sup> This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Sāyana. On ii. 38, 4, he explains it by *anuparatiḥ*, “never resting,” as an epithet of Savitṛi; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of *gnā* (a goddess), *ā samantād ramamānām sarvati a gantṛīm vā*, “sporting all round, or, going everywhere”; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, *uparati-rahitām*, “having no rest,” as an epithet of *mahī*, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (*bhūmin*); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (*dīptiḥ*); on v. 54, 6, as *āramāṇam dhanūdīkam*, “object of enjoyment, wealth,” etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being “of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects,” (*paryūpta-buddhiḥ sarva-vishaya-vyāpi-buddhir vā*) spoken of Tvashṭri; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to *alanmatīḥ paryūpta-stutiḥ*, a god “who obtains full, or complete, worship,” said of Pūshan. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 16, and x. 92, 4, 5. Böhtlingk and Roth regard *Aramati* in all these passages but one as designating either “readiness for service, obedience, devotion,” or “as a personification of religious worship, or active piety.” In viii. 31, 12, they regard it as signifying “obedient, pious.” I cannot see that any of these senses except that of earth is applicable to the passage before us. Or *Aramati* may here be an epithet of the earth.

<sup>31</sup> From the root *sakh*. See R.V. i. 18, 2; i. 56, 4; and v. 41, 20.

<sup>32</sup> Compare *amṛitasya gopām*, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and *amṛitasya patnīḥ*, iv. 5, 13.

kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūshans, and Bhaga? . . . 7. May the terrible (*rudra*) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi brahma-dviṣe śaravaṁ hantavai u ityādi* | (Vāch?<sup>23</sup> speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5.—. . . . *Ugram Maruḍbhīḥ Rudraṁ huvema ityādi* | "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśi agniṁ keśi viṣhaṁ keśi bibharti rodasī | keśi viśvaṁ svar dṛiṣe<sup>24</sup> keśi idaṁ jyotir uchyate | 2 | munayo vātaraśanāḥ piśangū vasate malū | vātasyānu dhrujīm yanti yad devāso avikṣhata | 3 | unmaditāḥ maṇeyena vātān ā tasthīmā vayam | śarīrād (i.e. śarīrā id) asmākaṁ yūyaṁ martāso abhi paśyatha | 4 | antarīkṣheṇa patati viśvā rūpā 'vachākaśat | munir devasya devasya saulkrīyāya sakhā hataḥ | 5 | Vātasyāśvo Vāyoḥ sakhā atha deveshito munir | ubhau samudrāv ā kṣeti yaś cha pūrvaḥ utāparaḥ | 6 | apsarasāṁ gandharvāṇām mṛigāṇām charaṇo charan | keśi ketasya vidvān sakhā svādur madīntamaḥ | 7. Vāyur asmaḥ upāmanthaḥ pinashṭi sma kunannamā | keśi viṣhasya pātreṇa yad Rudreṇāpibat saha* | "The long-haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he is to the view the entire sky; he is called this light. 2. The wind-clad (i.e. naked) munis wear brown and soiled (garments); they follow the course of the wind, when ye, O gods, have entered (into them). 3. Transported by (our) impulses as munis, we have pursued the winds. You, O mortals, behold our bodies. 4. The muni, a friend fitted to gain the beneficent aid of every god, flies through the air, perceiving all forms. 5. Tho muni, impelled by the gods, the steed of the wind, the friend of Vāyu, dwells in both the oceans, the eastern and the western. 6. Moving in the path of the Apsarases, the Gandharvas, and the wild animals, the long-haired being is aware of our call, and a sweet and gladdening friend. 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (*viṣha*) which he drank along with Rudra."

Although but little of this hymn has reference to Rudra, I have

<sup>23</sup> See note 27 in p. 258 of the third vol. of this work.

<sup>24</sup> *Keśi idaṁ sarvaṁ idaṁ abhivipaśyati* | —Nir. xii. 26.

quoted it entire on account of the interest it possesses in another respect. The first verse is explained in the Nirukta x. 26; and Prof. Roth, in his Illustrations of that work, p. 164, has the following note on the subject of the hymn: "The hymn," he says, "shows the conception that by a life of sanctity (*mauneyena*, verse 3) the muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarases, and the Gandharvas; and, furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course. Transcending even this, the verse before us says that the beautiful-haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities, does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains. Similarly in an older hymn, R. V. vii. 56, 8, an unusual power of the Muni is celebrated, when it is said of the winds: *Subhro vaḥ śuakmaḥ krudhm̐ manāṁsi dhunir munir iva śardhasya dhṛish-ṇoḥ*, where Sāyaṇa explains the word *mananād muniḥ stotā* ('the muni, from the root "man," is one who praises'); and where the representation above given is in any case to be found in its germ."

Although, in his Lexicon (see *s.v. muni*), Prof. Roth no longer adheres to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word *muni*, as applicable to the last-mentioned passage, where he thinks it may mean "pressure, crowd, impulse," he takes the same view as formerly of the hymn before us (x. 136), and defines the word *muni* as signifying "(one who is driven by an inward impulse), a person inspired, or in a state of ecstasy; with this conception of the word," he proceeds, "agrees what is said of the ecstasy and deification of the muni in R. V. x. 136, 2, 4, *devashito muniḥ* ('the god-impelled muni'), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, of the Muni Aitasa, whom his son regards as mad. *Indro muninām sakha*, 'Indra is the friend of munis,' R. V. viii. 17, 14." I subjoin the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, here referred to:

*Aitasa-pralāpam śaṁsati | Aitaso ha vai munir "Agnor āyur"*<sup>38</sup> *dadarśa yajñasya ayātayāmanam iti ha eke āhuḥ | so' bravīt putrān "putrakāḥ 'Agnor āyur' adarśam | tad abhilapishyāmi | yat kincha vadāmi tad me mā parigāta"* *iti | sa pratyapadyata "etaḥ atvāḥ āplavanto pratipam*

<sup>38</sup> The words *Agnor āyur asi tasya te* occur in the Kāṭhaka, according to the list of initial words of passages given by Weber, Ind. Stud., iii. 289.

*prātisutvanam*" (A. V. xx. 129, 1) *iti | tasya Abhyagnir Aitaśāyanāḥ aitya akāle 'bhihāya mukham apyagrihṇād "adṛipat naḥ pitā" iti | taṁ ha uvācha "apekya alaso bhūr yo me vācāham avadhīḥ | śatāyūṁ gām akarishyaṁ sahasrāyūṁ puruṣaṁ | pāpishṭhām te prajāṁ karomi yo mā ittham asakthāḥ" iti | tasmād āhur "Abhyagnayaḥ Aitaśāyanāḥ Aurvāṇām pāpishṭhāḥ" iti |* "He repeats the Aitaśa-pralāpa. The Muni Aitaśa beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the 'Agni's life' ('Agni's life,' etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious.<sup>36</sup> He said to his sons, 'Sons, I have seen "Agni's life;" and will speak of it. Do not fail to attend to" what I say.' He then obtained (by revelation) the verse beginning *etāḥ aśvāḥ*, etc. Abhyagni, of the family of Aitaśa, came unseasonably, and stopped his mouth, saying 'our father is mad.' His father said, 'Go, become destitute of energy,'<sup>37</sup> thou who hast stopped my words. I should otherwise have made kine live a hundred years, and men a thousand. Since thou hast so done violence to me, I make thy offspring most degraded. Hence they say that the Abhyagnis of the family of Aitaśa are the most degraded of all the Aurvas."

Compare Professor Kuenen's remarks on the possible original sense of the Hebrew word *nabi*, "prophet," in his *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek*, ii. 3, and also pp. 16 (note 3), and 19 (note 6).

The allusion in the 7th verse of the hymn before us to Rudra drinking water (*viśha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking posion (*viśha*).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatīr ośadhīr āriśantām | pīvasvatīr jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasūya padvate*<sup>38</sup> *Rudra mṛiḥa* | "May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink (waters) rich and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our walking sources of food" (compare vi. 28, 7, above, p. 312).

<sup>36</sup> Prof. Haug renders *ayūṭayāmam*, "which should remove all defects from the sacrifice"; and Prof. Weber, who, in his review of Dr. Haug's translation, *Indische Studien*, ix. 177 ff., dissents from many of the translator's renderings, expresses here no difference of opinion, see p. 304.

<sup>37</sup> Weber here differs from Haug's rendering of *parigāta* by "do not scorn me," and translates *übergehst (überhöret mir dies nicht) was ich auch sagen mag*, which is also the sense assigned in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Lexicon*; and has been given by me.

<sup>38</sup> Haug translates, "Become infected with leprosy"; Weber, "become destitute of energy."

<sup>39</sup> *Paved avasāṁ gūvaḥ* | —Nir. i. 17.

SECT. II.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-Veda.*

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā taṁ jushasva svāhā* | *esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ ākhus te paśuḥ*<sup>40</sup> | 58. *Ava Rudram adīmahy ava devam tryambakam* | *yathā no vasyasas karaḍ yathā naḥ śreyasas karaḍ yathā no vyavasāyayāt* | 59. *Bheshajam asi bheshajam gave 'śvāya puruṣhāya bheshajam* | *sukham meśhāya meśhyai* | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). *Tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim puṣṭi-vardhanam* | *urvārukam iva bandhanād mṛityor mukṣhiya mā 'mṛitāt* | *tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam*<sup>41</sup> | *urvārukam iva bandhanād ito mukṣhiya mā 'mutaḥ* | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2). *Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi* | *avatata-dhanvā pinākā-vasaḥ kṛitti-rāsāḥ ahimsaṁ naḥ śivo 'tīhi* | 62. *Tryāyushaṁ Jamadagneḥ Kātyapasya tryāyusham* | *yad deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad no astu tryāyusham* | 63. *Śivo nāma 'si svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā himsīḥ* | *nivartayāmy āyushe annādyūya prajananāya rāyasposhūya suprajāstvāya svīr-yāya* |

"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhā*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka,<sup>42</sup> that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of prosperity. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from

<sup>40</sup> Tho Taittirīya Br. i. 6, 10, 4, has only the first part of this verso: *Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā*: then follow the words: *ity āha* | *S'arad vai asya Ambikā svasā* | *tayā vai esha himastī* | "He says, 'This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā.' His sister Ambikā is the autumn; with her he smites (or kills)," etc. The commentator on the passage before us (of the Vaj. S.) says in reference to this that Ambikā kills by taking the form of Autumn, and producing diseases, etc. (*S'arad-rūpam prūpya jar-* [qu. ? *jeer-*] *ādīkam utpādya taṁ nirodhiṇaṁ hanti*).

<sup>41</sup> Compare *patividyā*, "the acquisition of a wife," in Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7.

<sup>42</sup> S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāma asya svasā* | *tayā 'sya esha saha bhāgaḥ* | *tad yad asya esha strīyā saha bhāgas tasmāt Tryambako nāma* | "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*strī*), he is called Tryambaka" (i.e. Stryambaka).

death, not [severed] from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who bestows on us husbands.<sup>42</sup> Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not [severed] from that [world]. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, and concealed from view, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.<sup>43</sup> 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śiva*) by name; the thunderbolt<sup>44</sup> is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I clip thy hair, thee [O sacrificer], that thou mayest live, have food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess."<sup>45</sup>

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer, which is referred to in three passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata, pp. 186, 193, and 199. It is translated and annotated by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*, ii. 32 ff. The text there translated, and which is given in the preceding pp. 26 ff., is that of the Upanishad bearing the name of Satarudriya.

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi. 1 ff. (=Taitt. S. iv. 5, 1, 1 ff.).—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishava namaḥ*<sup>46</sup> | *bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ* | 2. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghorā 'pāpa-kāśinī* | *tagā nas tanvā (tanuvā, T. S.) śantamayā grīśantābhihakaśīhi* | 3. *Yām ishūm girīśanta haste bibharshī astave* | *śivām giritra tāñ kuru mā hiṁsetḥ puruṣaṁ jagat* | 4. *S'ivena vaohasā tvā girīśūchha vadāmasi* | *yathā naḥ sarvam iḥ jagad ayakṣmaṁ sumanāḥ*<sup>47</sup> | *asat* | 5. *Adhy uvocad adhivaktā prathamō daivyo bhīṣak* | *ahīmścha sarvān jambhayan sarvāścha yātudhānyo 'dhurācīḥ parāsuva*<sup>48</sup> | 6. *Asau yas tānro aruṇaḥ uta babhruḥ sumangalaḥ* | *yo chāinaṁ Rudrāḥ abhito dīkṣu śritāḥ sahasraśo 'vaiśāñ hedaḥ*<sup>49</sup> | *imahe* | 7. *Asau yo 'vasar-*

<sup>42</sup> This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire.

<sup>43</sup> See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 f., and note 138, where the comments of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17) on the passage before us are quoted.

<sup>44</sup> Such is the sense assigned to *svadhiti* in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 20.

<sup>45</sup> The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivartayāmy āyushe*, etc., by "I shave thee that thou mayest live," etc.

<sup>46</sup> The Taitt. S. inserts here *namas te astu dhanvane*, "reverence be to thy bow."

<sup>47</sup> *Sumanah-śabde guṇatvam ārsham* | Comm.

<sup>48</sup> These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.

*pati nilagrīvo nilohitah | utainam gopāḥ adṛśrann adṛśrann udaḥṛyaḥ*<sup>49</sup>  
*sa dṛśiṣṭo mṛṇḍayāti naḥ | 8. Namō 'stu nīla-grīvāya sahasrākṣhāya*  
*mīdhushaḥ | atho yo asya satvāno ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ | 9. Pramuncha*  
*dhanvanas tvam ubhayaor artnyor jyām | yāścha te haste ishavaḥ parā tā*  
*bhagavo vapaḥ*<sup>50</sup> | 10. *Vijyaṁ dhanuḥ kapardīno viśalyo bāṇavān uta |*  
*anośann asya yāḥ ishavaḥ ābhur asya nishangadhiḥ [-thiḥ, T. S.] | 11.*  
*Yā te hetir mīdhushṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ | tayā 'smān viśvatas*  
*tvam ayakṣmayā pari bhūja*<sup>51</sup> | 12. *Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛṇaktu*  
*viśvataḥ | atho yaḥ iśhudhis tava āre asmad nidhehi tam | 13. Avatatya*  
*dhanuḥ tvaṁ sahasrākṣha sateshudhe | niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śivo naḥ*  
*sumanāḥ bhava | 14. Namas te āyudhāya anātātāya dhṛiṣṇavo | ubhā-*  
*bhyām uta te namo bāhubhyām tava dhanvano | 15 and 16 (=R.V. i.*  
*114, 7, 8, see above p. 303). 17. Namō hiranyabāhave senānyo diśāncha*  
*pataye namo namo vṛikṣebhyo harikṣēbhyāḥ paśūnām pataye namo*  
*namaḥ śaṣṭpinjārāya tvishimate pathinām pataye namo namo harikṣēṣya*  
*upavitine puṣṭhānām pataye namaḥ | 18. Namō babhūśāya vyādḥine*  
*'nnānām pataye namo namo Bhavaśya hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo*  
*Rudrāya ātatāvīne (ātatāvīno, T. S.) kehetrūnām pataye namo namaḥ*  
*sūtāya ahantyai (ahantīyā, T. S.) vanānām pataye namaḥ | 19. Namō*  
*rohitāya sthapataye vṛikṣhānām pataye namo namo bhuvantaye vāriṣa-*  
*kṛitāya ośadhīnām pataye namo namo mantriṇo vāṇijāya kakṣhānām*  
*pataye namo namo uchchairghoṣhāya ākrandayate patinām pataye namaḥ |*  
*20. Namaḥ kṛitēnāyatayā (kṛitēnavitāya, T. S.) dhāvate satvanām pataye*  
*namo namaḥ sahamānāya nivṛyādḥine āvyādḥinīnām pataye namo namo*  
*nishangīno kakubhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya*  
*aranyānām pataye namaḥ | 21. Namō vanchate parivanchate stāyānām*  
*pataye namo namo nishangīno iśhudhimate taskarānām pataye namo*  
*namaḥ śṛikāyibhyo (śṛikāvīdḥyo, T. S.) jighāṁsadbhyo muṣhṇatām pataye*  
*namo namo 'simadbhyo naktaṁ charadbhyo vikṛintānām (prakṛintānām,*  
*T. S.) pataye namaḥ | 22. Namaḥ uśṇīṣhine giricharāya kulunehānām*  
*pataye namo namaḥ iśhumnadbhyo dhanvāyibhyāścha vo namo namaḥ ātan-*  
*vānebhyo pratidadhānebhyāścha vo namo namaḥ āyāḥḥadbhyo 'syadbhyāś-*  
*cha vo namaḥ | 23. Namō viśṛijadbhyo vidhyadbhyāś cha vo namo namaḥ*

<sup>49</sup> The Taitt. S. adds here *utainam viśvā bhūtāni*, "and all beings have seen him."

<sup>50</sup> The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vāj. S.

<sup>51</sup> The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.



svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śayānebhyaś āsīnebhyaścha  
 vo namo namas tiśhṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 24. Namaḥ  
 sabhābhyaś sabhāpatibhyaścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'śvapatibhyaścha vo  
 namo namaḥ āvyādākinābhyo vīvidhyantibhyaścha vo namo namaḥ ugaṇ-  
 gbhyas trīmhaṭibhyaś cha vo namaḥ | 25. Namō gaṇebhyo gaṇapati-  
 bhyaścha vo namo namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaścha vo namo namo  
 grītebhyo grītapatibhyaścha vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyaścha  
 vo namaḥ | 26. Namaḥ senābhyaś senānibhyaścha vo namo namo rathibhyo  
 'rathēbhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kṣattṛibhyaś sangrahitṛibhyaścha vo namo  
 namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaścha (kṣullakebhyaś cha, T. S.) vo namaḥ |  
 27. Namas takṣhabhyo rathakūrebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kulālebhyaś  
 karmārebhyaścha vo namo namo nishādebhyaś punjiśhṭhebhyaś cha vo  
 namo namaḥ śvanibhyo mṛigayubhyaścha vo namaḥ | 28. Namaḥ śvabhyāś  
 śvapatibhyaścha namo Bhāṣāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ Ś'arvāya cha Paśu-  
 pataye cha namo nilagrīvaya cha śitikanṭhāya cha | 29. Namaḥ kapardīno  
 cha vyūpta-keśūya cha namaḥ sahasrākṣāya cha śatadhanvane cha namo  
 girīśayāya (girīśāya, T. S.) cha śīpivīśhṭāya cha namo mīḍhushṭamāya  
 cha īshumate cha | 30. Namō hrasvāya cha vāmanāya cha namo brīhate cha  
 varshīyase cha namo vṛiddhāya cha savṛidhe (saṁvṛidhvane, T. S.) cha  
 namo 'gryāya prathamāya cha | 31. Namaḥ āśave cha ajirāya cha namaḥ  
 śighryāya (śighriyāya, T. S.) cha śībhyāya cha namaḥ ūrmyāya cha avas-  
 nyāya cha namo nādeyāya (śrotasyāya, T. S.) cha dvīpyāya cha | 32. Namō  
 jyeshṭhāya cha kanīśhṭhāya cha namaḥ pūrvarjāya cha apararjāya cha namo  
 madhyamāya cha apagalbhāya cha namo jaghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha |  
 33. Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisaryāya cha namo yāmyāya cha kṣemyāya  
 cha namaḥ ślokyāya cha avasānyāya cha nama urvāryāya cha khalyāya  
 cha | 34. Namō vanyāya cha kakshyāya cha namaḥ śravāya cha pratisravāya  
 cha namaḥ āśuśhenāya cha āśuratāya cha namaḥ śūrāya cha avadhēdīno  
 (avabhindate, T. S.) cha | 35. Namō bīlmine cha kavachīne cha namo  
 varmīne cha varūthīne cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha namo  
 dundubhyāya cha āhananyāya cha | 36. Namō dhṛīśhṇave cha pramṛīśāya  
 cha<sup>52</sup> namo nīśhangīne cha īśkudhimate cha namas tīkṣhṇeshave cha āyudhīno  
 cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sūdhānvane cha | 37. Namaḥ śrutūyāya cha pathyāya  
 cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya cha sarasyāya cha  
 namo nādeyāya (nāḍyāya, T. S.) cha vaiśantāya cha | 38. Namaḥ kūpyāya  
 cha avatīyāya cha namo vīdhryāya cha ātapyāya namo meghyāya cha

<sup>52</sup> The T. S. adds here namo dūtaya cha prahitāya cha.

*vidyutyāya cha namo varshyāya cha avarshyāya cha* | 39. *Namo vātyāya cha reshmyāya (reshmiyāya, T. S.) cha namo vāstavāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya cha Rudrāya cha namaḥ tāmṛāya cha aruṇāya cha* | 40. *Namaḥ śāngave (śāngāya, T. S.) paśupataye cha namaḥ ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha namo agrovadhāya cha dūrevadhāya cha namo hantre cha hanīyase cha namo vṛikṣebhyaḥ hari-keśebhyaḥ namaḥ tārāya* | 41. *Namaḥ śambhāvāya (śambhave, T. S.) cha mayobhavāya (mayobhave, T. S.) cha namaḥ śankarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha* | 42. *Namaḥ pūryāya cha avūryāya cha namaḥ prataranāya cha uttaranāya cha<sup>53</sup> namaḥ tīrthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śaṣṭhyāya phenyāya cha* | 43. *Namaḥ śikatyāya cha pravūhyāya cha namaḥ kiṃśilāya cha kṣayanāya cha namaḥ kapardīna cha pulastaye cha namaḥ irinyāya cha prapathyāya cha* | 44. *Namo vṛajyāya (gṛihyāya, T. S.) cha goṣṭhyāya cha namaḥ talpyāya cha gehyāya cha namo hṛidayyāya (hṛadavyāya, T. S.) cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kūtyāya cha gahvareṣṭhāya cha* | 45. *Namaḥ śuṣṭhyāya cha harītyāya cha namaḥ pūṃsavāya cha rajasyāya cha namo loṇyāya cha ulapyāya cha namaḥ ūrvyāya cha sūrvyāya (sūrmyāya, T. S.) cha* | 46. *Namaḥ parṇāya (parṇyāya, T. S.) cha parṇaśadāya cha namaḥ udguramānāya (apagurumānāya, T. S.) cha abhighnate cha nama ākḥidate cha prakḥidate cha namaḥ iṣukṛīdbhyaḥ dhanuṣkṛīdbhyaś cha vo namo namo vaḥ kirikēbhyaḥ devūnām hṛidayebhyaḥ namo vichinvatkebhyaḥ namo vikṣīnatkebhyaḥ (vikṣīṇakebhyaḥ, T. S.) namaḥ ānirhatebhyaḥ<sup>54</sup> | 47. Drūpe andhasaspato daridra (darīdṛan, T. S.) nīlatoḥita | āsām prajūnām eśām paśūnām mā bher mā roṣ mo cha naḥ kinchanāmamat | 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. Yā te Rudra śivā tanūḥ śivā viśīdhā bheśhajī | śivā rutasya bheśhajī tayā no mṛiḍa jīvase | 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14<sup>55</sup>). 51. Mīḍhuṣṭama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanāḥ bhava | parame vṛikṣe āyudham nīdhāya kṛittīm vasānāḥ āhara pinūkam bibhṛad āgahi | 52. Vikirīdra (vikirīda, T.S.) vilohita namaḥ te astu bhagavaḥ | yās te sahasraṃ hetayo 'nyam aśmā nivapantu tāḥ | 53. Sahasrāṇi sahasraso (sahasradhā, T. S.) bāhvos (bāhuvoḥ, T. S.) tava hetayaḥ | tūṣām īśūno bhagavaḥ parācchinā mukhā kṛīdhi | 54. Asankhyātā sahasrāṇi (sahasrāṇi*

<sup>53</sup> The T. S. here adds, *namaḥ ātāryāya cha ālōṇyāya cha*.

<sup>54</sup> The T. S. here adds, *namaḥ ānirvatkebhyaḥ*.

<sup>55</sup> Instead of *māhī gāt*, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it stands in the R.V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghlāyoḥ*, "or the malicious." The T. S. introduces here verses corresponding to those in R.V. i. 114, 2, 7, 8, 10; ii. 32, 11, 14.

sahasraśo, T. S.) ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām | teshām sahasra-yojane ava  
 dhanvāni tanmani | 55. Aśvin mahaty arṇave antarikṣhe Bhavāḥ adhi |  
 teshām ityādi | 56. Nilagrivāḥ śitikanṭhāḥ divaṁ Rudrāḥ upāsritāḥ |  
 teshām ityādi | 57. Nilagrivāḥ śitikanṭhāḥ Sarvāḥ adhaḥ kṣhamācharāḥ |  
 teshām ityādi | 58. Ye vṛkṣheṣhu śaṣṭṛpinjarāḥ nilagrivāḥ vilohitāḥ |  
 teshām ityādi | 59. Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāṣaḥ kapardīnaḥ |  
 teshām ityādi | 60. Ye pathām pathirakṣhaṣaḥ (pathirakṣhayaḥ, T. S.)  
 ailaḥṛidāḥ āyuryudhaḥ (yavyudhaḥ, T. S.) | teshām ityādi | 61. Ye  
 tīrthāni praacharanti epikāḥastāḥ (epikāvanto, T. S.) nishanginaḥ | teshām  
 ityādi | 62. Ye aneṣhu vividhyanti pātreshu pibato janān | teshām ityādi |  
 63. Ye etāvantaścha bhūyāmasāḥ cha dīśo Rudrāḥ vitasthīre | teshām  
 ityādi | 64. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshām<sup>56</sup> varṣham iṣhavaḥ |  
 tebhyo daśa prāchir daśa dakṣiṇāḥ daśa pratichir daśa udichir daśa  
 ūrdhvaḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mṛḍayantu te yaṁ dvishmo  
 yaś cha no dveshīti tam eśhām (vo, T. S.) jambhe dadhmaḥ (dadhāmi, T. S.) |  
 65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye antarikṣhe yeshām vātāḥ iṣhavaḥ | tebhyo  
 daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye pṛithivyāṁ yeshām annam  
 iṣhavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi |

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that blessed body of thine which is auspicious, not terrible,<sup>57</sup> and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, O dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to dischargo, make it, O lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. The deliverer, the first divine physician, hath interposed for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānīs (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water<sup>58</sup> have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the

<sup>56</sup> The T. S. inserts here the words *annam vāto*.

<sup>57</sup> Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 204, near the foot.

<sup>58</sup> "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites" (*Vedokta-samākāra-  
 ātmāḥ*).—Comm.

blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, O divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. His arrows have perished, and his sword-sheath is empty. 11. That shaft, O most bountiful, that bow which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, O thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the points of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8. See above, p. 304.) 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,<sup>59</sup> who is yellow like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the full-fed, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the innoxious charioteer, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being who stretches out the worlds, who affords deliverance, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of foot-soldiers who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of armies which wound, to the towering wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves,<sup>60</sup> to the robber,

<sup>59</sup> This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant "the lord of sacrificial victims."

<sup>60</sup> On this the Commentator has the following apologetic remarks: *Rudro lilayā chorādi-rūpam dhātte | yadvā Rudrasya jagad-ātmakatvāch chorādayo Rudrā eva dhēyāḥ | yadvā stenādi-sāfire jīvevara-rūpeṇa Rudro dvidhā tiśṭhāt | tatra jīva-rūpam stenādi-labda-vachyam | tad īvara-rudra-rūpam lakṣhayati | yathā śākhā-grām chandrasya lakṣhakam | kim bahunā | lakṣyārtha-vivakṣayā mantreshu laukikāḥ śabdāḥ prayuktāḥ |* "Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and such like persons. Or, since Rudra is the soul of the world, thieves, etc., are to be thought of as being Rudras. Or, Rudra abides in two ways, as life and as lord, in the bodies of thieves, etc. Then his character as life is denoted by the words thieves, etc.; and that points to his character as Rudra the lord, just as the end of a branch points to the moon. But why enlarge further? Common words are employed in the sacred texts to intimate the sense which is pointed to."

to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with thunderbolts, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who wears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, and to the goddesses who have excellent troops, and who are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the companies, and to you the lords of companies, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the charioteers, and to you the drivers of horses, to you the great, and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjisthhas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava,<sup>61</sup> and to Rudra, and to Śarva, to Paśupati, to Nilagrīva, and to

<sup>61</sup> Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the S'atadriya in his *Indische Studien*, ii. 37: "Bhava is variously explained, sometimes as the 'existent,' 'eternal' (*bhavaty eva na kadāchid api na bhavati*), sometimes as the producer of everything (*bhavaty asmin sarvam*), so that according to the latter explanation he is the exact opposite of 'Śarva,' the destroyer: and possibly the term (Bhava) has been formed with the view of propitiating the terrible god by a favourable name. When both words appear in verses 55 and 57 as additional names of the Rudras, they are no doubt transferred to them from their master, since the name Bhava in particular will not apply well to them. According to the S'atap. Br. i. 7, 38 (dating certainly from a period when Rudra had already been identified with Agni), both words (see also *Ind. St.* i. 132, 140) are appellations of Agni,—Bhava being that which was usual among the Bāhikas, and Śarva the one prevailing among the Prāchyas (and so among the Kosalavidehas, for example). As we meet with the word Śarva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Fargard x., p. 342," (Śaurva in the Zend, see Spiegel's translation, p. 176, and his Commentary, i., p. 285, and Justi's *Handbuch s.v.*) "we should rather have expected that Śarva would have

Śitikanṭha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Sipivāhta,<sup>62</sup> to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to him who abides in the swift, and in the flowing waters, and to him who dwells in billows, and in tranquil waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown, to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?), to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmeted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the assailant, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways, and roads, and rough (or desert) places, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, (40) to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in

been the name current among the Būhikas. It is difficult to decide whether both appellations actually belonged at first to Agni, and not to Rudra. But, generally speaking, the contrary appears to me to be more credible, because in the hymns of the Rīg-veda a peaceful, and not a destructive, character is predominately ascribed to Agni. Further, both words are brought directly into connexion with the lightning in A.V. x. 1. *Bhāvāsareṇa asyatām pāpakṛite devastim.*<sup>63</sup> This text is quoted a few pages further on.

<sup>62</sup> R.V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 86-88, and Appendix on p. 88.

front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śaṅkarāya*), to the canser of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and fro, to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable<sup>63</sup> places, to the god with spirally-braided hair, to him with smooth hair,<sup>64</sup> who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in rough (or desert) places, who abides in abysses, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in the earth and deep under the earth. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to him who is in the fall of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the affliicer, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods,<sup>65</sup> to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,<sup>66</sup> who art blue and red, do not crush, do not destroy<sup>67</sup> these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14. See above, p. 309). 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest [or, highest] tree, approach, clad in a skin,<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

<sup>64</sup> This is the rendering of Böhlingk and Roth. See Weber's Ind. Stud., ii. 41, note. The Commentator on the Vaj. S. gives the following alternative explanation: *Pulastaye agre tishṭhati pulastih . . . yadvā pūrshu śarīreshu astiḥ sattā yasya sa pulastih sarvāntaryāmī* |

<sup>65</sup> Agni, Vāyu, and Aditya are meant, according to the Commentator, and the Śatap. Br. ix. 1, 1, 23.

<sup>66</sup> *Daridra*. The Commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho 'dvitīyatevā*). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

<sup>67</sup> *Mā bher mā rok*. See Böhlingk and Roth, s.v. *ruj*, where *bheḥ* is said to come from *bhid*, not *bhī*.

<sup>68</sup> See V. S. 3, 61, above, p. 322.

come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who avertest wounds [or, shootest arrows], and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those [deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and of those whose hair is spirally-braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment, who fight for life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, with weapons in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky,<sup>69</sup> of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,<sup>70</sup> ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc."

Many of the epithets in this Satarudriya are not found in other books; and it is difficult, and perhaps of little importance, to discover their real sense. Others, as the reader will have observed, are of the most fantastic character.

<sup>69</sup> The T. S. inserts here, "whose food is the wind."

<sup>70</sup> *Prāgabbhimukhāṅ angulīḥ kurve iti ścahaḥ* | . . . *añjalīm baddhvā sarva-dikṣhu namaṣkaromi* | Comm.



SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, S'arva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nila-śikhaṇḍa karma-kṛt | prāsam pratiprāso jahi arasāṁ kṛiṇu ośadhō |* "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of works, destroy the food of him who seeks to take ours; make it savourless, O plant!"

A. V. iv. 28, 1.—*Bhavā-Sarvau manvo vām asya vittāṁ yayor vām idam pradīsi yad virochate | yāv asyeśūthe dvipado yau chatushpadas tau no munchatam aṁhasaḥ | 2. yayor abhyadhve uta yad dūre chid yau vīditāv ishubbhṛitām asishṭhau | yāv— | 3. sahasrākṣhau vṛitrahāṇā huvo 'haṁ dūregavyūti stuvann omy ugrau | yāv— | 4. yāv ārebhāte bahu sākam agre pra cheḍ aśrūṣṭam abhibhūṁ janeshu | yāv— | 5. yayor vadhād nāpadyate kaśchana antar deveshūta mānusheshu | yāv— | 6. yaḥ kṛityā-kṛid mūla-kṛid yātudhāno ni tasmin dhattām vajram ugrau | yāv— | 7. adhi no brūtam pritanāsu ugrau saṁ vajrena srijatam yaḥ kimīdī<sup>71</sup> | staumi Bhavā-S'arvau nāthito jōhavimi tau no munchatam aṁhasaḥ |*

1. "O Bhava and Sarva, I reverence you; have regard to this (your worshipper), ye under whose control is all this which shines: ye who are lords of this two-footed and four-footed (creation), free us from calamity. 2. Ye to whom belongs all that is near and even all that is remote, who are known as the most skilful shooters among all archers: ye who are lords, etc. (as in v. 1). 3. Ye thousand-eyed slayers of enemies, I invoke you; I go on praising you, ye fierce gods, whose domain extends far and wide: ye who are lords, etc. 4. Ye who, united, performed many (exploits) of old, who manifested ill omens among men: ye who are lords, etc. 5. Ye from whose destroying stroke no one either among gods or men escapes: ye who are lords, etc. 6. Fierce gods, launch your thunderbolt against the Yātudhāna, who practises sorcery, and prepares roots (for that purpose): ye who are lords, etc. 7. Fierce gods, take our side in battles, smite with the thunderbolt him who is a goblin. I praise you, Bhava and Sarva; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity."

<sup>71</sup> Yaska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: *Kim idānīm iti charate kim idam kim idam iti vā pīṣṇāya charate |*

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrāḥ Marutaḥ Pṛisni-mātaraḥ Indreṇa yujā pra mṛṇita śatrūn | Soma rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādevaḥ uta mṛityur Indrah |* “Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Pṛisni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. (May) king Soma, king Varuṇa, and Indra, who is a great god and death, (do the same).” [This verse is from a martial hymn addressed to the Dundubhi or drum, which in verses 4–6 is besought to terrify the poet’s enemies, as the sight of a man frightens wild animals, a wolf goats and sheep, and a hawk smaller birds. 4. *Yathā mṛigāḥ saṁvijante āraṇyāḥ puruṣhād adhi |* . . . 5. *Yathā vṛikād ajāvayo dhāvanti bahu bibhyatīḥ |* . . . 6. *Yathā śyenāt patatrīṇaḥ saṁvijante ahar divi. . . .*]

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo Mṛityur aghamāro nirritho babhruḥ Sarvo ’stā nīla-bīkhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthivāṁśas to asmākam pari vrinjantu vīrān |* 2. *Manasā homair harasā ghṛiteṇa Sarvāyāstre uta rājne Bhavūya | namasyebhyaḥ namaḥ ebhyaḥ kṛṇomy anyatra asmaḍ aghaviṣhā nayantu |* “May Yama, Death, who brings dire destruction, may the Destroyer, may tawny Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire, with butter, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”

In A. V. vi. 141, 1, Rudra is mentioned along with Vāyu, Tvastṛi, and Indra (*Rudro bhūmno chikitsatu*).

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apsu antur yaḥ ośadhīr virudhaḥ āviveṣa | yaḥ imā vīsvā bhuvanāni chākṛīṣe tasmai Rudrāya namo asto Agnaye |* “Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these creatures.”

A. V. viii. 2, 7.—. . . *Bhavā-sarvau mṛidatām śarma yachhatam aparidhya duritām dhattam āyuh |* . . . . “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”<sup>72</sup>

A. V. viii. 5, 10.—*Asmai maṇim varma badhnantu devāḥ Indro Viṣṇuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi |* “May the gods, Indra, Viṣṇu, Savitṛi, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

<sup>72</sup> See the translation of the entire hymn, in which this half verse occurs, in the fifth volume of this work, p. 446 ff.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitrāś cha Varuṇāś cha aṁsau Tvashṭā cha Aryamāś cha doshañi Mahādeva bāhū* | “Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭri and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms”

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-sarvāu asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityā-kṛite duḥkṛite vidyutām deva-hetiṁ* | “Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer.” (See Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-Sarvau mṛīdatam mā 'bhiyātām bhāta-patī pasu-patī namo vām* | *pratīhitām āyatām mā vi srāṣṭam mā no hiṁsi-śṣṭam dvipado mā chatuspadaḥ* | 2. *Sune kroṣṭre mā śarirūṇi kartam aliklavabhyo grīdhrebhyo ye cha kṛishṇāḥ avishyavaḥ* | *makṣhikās te Paśu-pate vayāmsi te vighase mā vidanta* | 3. *Krandāya te prāṇāya yās cha te Bhava ropayaḥ* | *namas te Rudra kṛiṇmaḥ sahasrākṣhāya amartya* | 4. *Purastāt te namaḥ kṛiṇmaḥ uttarād adharād uta* | *abhivargād divas pari antarikṣhāya te namaḥ* | 5. *Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chakṣhūṁśi te Bhava* | *tvache rūpāya saṁdṛiṣe pratichīnūya te namaḥ* | 6. *Angebhyas te udarāya jīhvāyai āsyāya te* | *dadbhyo gandhāya te namaḥ* | 7. *Astrū nīla-śīkhaṇḍena sahasrākṣheṇa vājīnā* | *Rudrenārdhaka-ghātīnā tena mā samarāmahi* | 8. *Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ āpaḥ*<sup>73</sup> | *ivāgnēḥ pari vṛiṇaktu no Bhavaḥ* | *mā no 'bhi māṁśta namo astv asmai* | 9. *Chatur namo aṣṭakṛitvo Bhavāya dāśa kṛitvaḥ Paśupate namas te* | *tavame paṇ-cha paśavo vibhaktāḥ gāvo aśvāḥ puruṣhāḥ ajāvayaḥ* | 10. *Tava chatasraḥ pradīśas tava dyaus tava pṛithivī tavedam ugroṛv antarikṣham* | *tavedaṁ sarvām ātmanvad yut prāṇat pṛithivīm anu* | 11. *Uruḥ kośo vasudhānas tavāyaṁ yasminn imā viśvā bhuvanāny antaḥ* | *sa no mṛīḍa Paśupate namas te paraḥ kroṣṭāro abhibhūḥ śvānaḥ paro yantv agharudo vikeśyaḥ* | 12. *Dhanur bibharshi haritām hiraṇyayaṁ sahasra-ghniṁ śata-vadhaṁ śikhāṇḍin* | *Rudrasyeshuś charati deva-hetiḥ tasyai namo yatamasyām dīśtāḥ* | 13. *Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate tvām Rudra nichikīrṣhati* | *paśchād anu prayunkṣhe taṁ viddhasya pada-nīr iva* | 14. *Bhavā-rudrau sayujā saṁvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya* | *tābhyām namo yatamasyām dīśtāḥ* | 15. *Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate* | *namas te Rudra tiśṭhate āśitāyola te namaḥ* | 16. *Namaḥ śāyaṁ namaḥ prātar namo rātryā namo divā* | *Bhavāya cha Sarvāya cha ubhābhyām akaraṁ namaḥ* |

<sup>73</sup> In Böhrling and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v., p. 1003, several passages are quoted where *āpaḥ* (with a long *ā* in the first syllable) occurs as an accusative plural.

17. *Sahasrākṣham atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaś-  
chitam | mā upārāma jihvayā iyamānam |* 18. *S'yāvāsvaṁ kṛishṇam asi-  
tam mṛiṇantam bhīmaṁ ratham keśīnaḥ pādayantam | pūrve pratīmo  
namo astu asmai |* 19. *Mā no 'bhi srāḥ matyaṁ deva-hotim mā naḥ kru-  
dhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra asmad divyāṁ śūkhāṁ vi dhānu |*  
20. *Mā no hīṁsīr adhi no brūhi pari no vṛindhi mā krudhaḥ | ma tvayā  
samarāmaḥ |* 21. *Mā no goshu purusheshu mā grīḍho no ajāvishu |  
anyatrogra vi vartaya piyārūṇam prajāṁ jahī |* 22. *Yasya takmā  
kāśikā hetir ekam āsvasyeva vṛishanaḥ krandaḥ eti | abhipūrvaṁ nirṇayate  
namo astu asmai |* 23. *Yo antarikṣhe tiśṭhati viśṭabhīto ayajvanāḥ  
pramṛiṇan deva-pīyūn | tasmai namo dasabhiḥ śakvarībhiḥ |* 24. *Tubhyam  
āranyūḥ pāsavo mṛigāḥ vane hitūḥ haṁsāḥ vaparṇāḥ śakunāḥ vayāṁsi |  
tava yakṣham Paśupate apu antas tubhyaṁ kṣharanti divyāḥ āpo vṛidhe |*  
25. *Siṁśumārāḥ ajagarāḥ purikayāḥ jashāḥ matsyūḥ rajasūḥ yebhyo  
asyasi | na te dūrāṁ na pariśṭhā 'sti te Bhava sadyaḥ sarvām pari  
paśyasi bhūmim pūrvasmād haṁsy uttarasmin samudre |* 26. *Mā no  
Rudra tukmanā mā viśeṇa mā naḥ saṁ srāḥ divyenāgninā | any-  
trāsmad vidyutam pūtayaitūm |* 27. *Bhavo divo Bhavaḥ īśe pṛithivyāḥ  
Bhavaḥ ā papre uru antarikṣham | tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ dīśitāḥ |*  
28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛiḍa paśūnāṁ hi paśupatir babhū-  
tha | yaḥ śraddadhāti santi devāḥ iti chatuṣpade dvipade asya mṛiḍa |*  
29 (= R.V. i. 114, 7). *Mā no mahāntam uta mū no arbhaḥam mā  
no vahanam uta mā no vakṣhyataḥ | mā no hīṁsīḥ pitaram mātaram  
cha svām tanvaṁ Rudra mū rīriṣho naḥ |* 30. *Rudrasyailaba-kūrebhyo  
'saṁśukta-gilebhyāḥ | idam mahāsyebhyāḥ śrabhyo akaram namaḥ |*  
31. *Namas te ghoshinībhyo namas te keśinībhyāḥ | namo namaskritābhyo  
namaḥ sambhunjatībhyāḥ | namas te deva senābhyāḥ svasti no abhayaṁ  
cha naḥ |*

1. "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts [see v. 9]; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, to thee, the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from above, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament.

5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose looks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the warrior, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka.<sup>74</sup> 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra [or fierce god], are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy storehouse of thine, within which all these beings are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, [a weapon] which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it in whatever direction from hence [it flies]. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who lurks and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man tracking the steps<sup>75</sup> of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be to them twain in whatever direction they are from hence. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has brown horses, is dark, black, destroying, terrible, who casts down the car of Keśin (the long-haired being)<sup>76</sup>: reverence be to him. 19. Do

<sup>74</sup> Rudra is elsewhere said to be the slayer of Ardhaka or Antaka. See Rāmāyaṇa, Aranya Kāṇḍa 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.

<sup>75</sup> Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *pada-nī* the sense of "guide."

<sup>76</sup> Böhtlingk and Roth make *keśin* an epithet of Rudra: see *s.v.*

not hurl at us thy club," thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial weapon<sup>78</sup> over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; interpose for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself [or, turn thy chariot] elsewhere; slay the offspring of the malignant. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who carries away [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten śakvari verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, swans, and various well-winged birds<sup>79</sup> are placed in the forest; thy living creatures, Paśupati, exist in the waters: to delight thee the celestial waters flow. 25. (There exist) poŕpoises, great serpents, puri-kayas, sea-monsters, fishes, rajasas,<sup>80</sup> at which thou shootest. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled<sup>81</sup> the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him in whatever direction from hence [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.<sup>82</sup> 29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who is growing nor those who are to grow,<sup>83</sup>

<sup>77</sup> A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Triṇedhū enān matyam Bhavaśya* | "May the club of Bhava crush them."

<sup>78</sup> The word in the original is *śākhā*, "branch."

<sup>79</sup> In the original, *suparnāḥ śakunāḥ vayāmsi*.

<sup>80</sup> B. and R. say this word perhaps means "unclean."

<sup>81</sup> Compare R.V. i. 52, 13, p. 99, above; and the other passages quoted in note 73 on the same page.

<sup>82</sup> Compare R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 254.

<sup>83</sup> Compare R.V. i. 114, 7, and T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2, p. 303, above. In Professor Wilson's Dictionary I find the sense of "growing" assigned to the root *vaḥ*, when conjugated in the *ātmane pada* with a nasal, *vaṁhate*. He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly *baḥ*, *baṁhate*. If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, I have adopted in the parallel text of the Rīgveda.

neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, O deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, revered, devouring hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavā-śarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | iśhūr yāḥ eśhām saṁvidma tāḥ naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ* | "We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Yaḥ enām avasām āha devūnām nihitam nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhavā-śarvau parikramyeshum asyataḥ* | "Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow."

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryāmā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ* | 26. *Sa Rudro vasuavanir vasudeya namorāke vashaṭkāro 'nu saṁhitaḥ* | 27. *Tasyeme sarve yātavaḥ upa praśisham āsate* | 28. *Tasyāmū sarvū nakshatrā vaśe chandramasū saha* | "4. He (Savitrī) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He, Rudra, the giver of wealth, is placed as the 'vashaṭkāra' in the reverential invocation, at the giving of wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control."

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Prof. Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's Indische Studien, pp. 121-140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Bhavam iśhvāsam anuśṭhātūrām akurvan | Bhavaḥ enam iśhvāsaḥ prāchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād anuśṭhātā 'nutiśṭhati | nainam Sarvo na Bhavo na Īśāno na asyu paśūn na samānān hinasti yaḥ evam veda* | 2. *Tasmai dakṣiṇāyāḥ diśo antardeśāch oḥharvam iśhvāsam ityādi* | 3. *Tasmai pratīchyāḥ diśo antar-deśāt Paśupatim ityādi* | 4. *Tasmai udīchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād ugraṁ devam ityādi* | 5. *Tasmai dhruvāyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Rudram ityādi* | 6. *Tasmai ārdhāvāyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi* | 7. *Tasmai sarvebhyo antar-deśebhyāḥ Īśānam ityādi* | "[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vṛātya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Īśāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.

2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made the god Ugra, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Īśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions," etc.

SECT. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the Ś'atapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 202) Rudra is identified with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāni nāmāni Sarvaḥ iti yathā prāchyāḥ āchakshate Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāhikāḥ Paśunām patiḥ Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni | Agnir ity eva śāntatamam |* "Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,<sup>83</sup> Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśūnāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (i.e. all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation."<sup>84</sup>

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhūd vai iyaṃ pratishṭhā iti | tad bhumir abhavat | tām aprathayat sū prithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānācha patiḥ saṃvatsarāya adikshanta | bhūtānām patir griha-patir āsīd Ushāḥ patnī | 8. Tad yūni tāni bhūtāni ritavas to | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṃvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yū sū Ushāḥ patny aushasi sū | tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānācha patiḥ saṃvatsaraḥ Ushasi reto 'sinchan | sa saṃvatsare kumāro 'jāyata | so 'rodit | 9. Tam Prajāpatir abravīt "kumāra kiṃ rodishi yach chhramāt*

<sup>83</sup> On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): *Prāchyādi-deśa-bhedaṇa Ś'arvādi-nāma-bhede 'pi devatā ekā eva |* "Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Ś'arva, etc., still the god is but one."

<sup>84</sup> See the note translated from Weber's *Indische Studien* above in p. 328.



tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si" iti | so 'bravīd "anapahata-pāpmā vai asmy ahita-  
 nāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmā-  
 mam eva asya tad apahanty api doṣṭiyam api tṛṣṭiyam abhipūrvam eva asya  
 tat pāpmānam apahanti | 10. Tam abravīd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya  
 tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpam abhavat | Agnir vai Rudraḥ | yad arodit  
 tasmād Rudraḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"  
 iti | 11. Tam abravīt "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod  
 āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvaḥ | adbhyo hi idam sarvaṁ jāyate |  
 so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 12. Tam abravīt  
 Paśupatiḥ asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod ośadhāyas tad-rūpam  
 abhavan | ośadhāyo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadā paśavaḥ ośadhīr labhante  
 'tha patiyanti | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"  
 iti | 13. Tam abravīd Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus  
 tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāty "Ugro  
 vāti" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |  
 14. Tam abravīd "Āsanir asi" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut  
 tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyud vai Āsanis tasmād yaṁ vidyud hantī "Āsanir  
 abadhīd" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"  
 iti | 15. Tam abravīd "Bhavo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Par-  
 janyas tad-rūpam abhavat | Parjanya vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyaḥ hi idam sar-  
 vam bhavati | so 'bravīd "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |  
 16. Tam abravīd "Mahān devo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch  
 chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpatiḥ vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatiḥ  
 vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"  
 iti | 17. Tam abravīd "Īśāno 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod  
 Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īśānaḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvasya  
 īkṣṇe | so 'bravīd "etān vai asmi mā mā itaḥ paro nāma dhāḥ" iti |  
 18. Tāny etāny aśtāv Agni-rūpāni Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Agnes tri-  
 vṛttā | 19. Yad vai iva aśtāv Agni-rūpāny aśtākṣharā gāyatrī tasmād  
 āhur "gāyatrī 'gnir" iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpāny anuprāviśat | na vai  
 Agniṁ kumāram iva paśyantī etāny eva asya rūpāni paśyantī etāni hi  
 rūpāni prāviśat |

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (bhūmi). He ex-  
 tended it (apṛathayat). It became the broad one (prithivī). On this  
 foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for  
 the year (samvatsara). The lord of beings was a householder, and  
 Ushas was his wife. 8. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That

'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).<sup>85</sup> Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)<sup>86</sup> was born in a year. The boy wept. 9. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My evil indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his evil; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his evil. 10. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodīt* from *rud*, 'to weep').<sup>87</sup> The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 11. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'<sup>88</sup> Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for Sarva (All) is the waters, because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 24 f.). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 12. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the Plants became his form, for Paśupati is the Plants. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong). The boy said,

<sup>85</sup> I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the 'lord of beings' = the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

<sup>86</sup> The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (*Indische Studien*, ii. 302, 395), is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

<sup>87</sup> See the end of note 9, p. 303, above. A story like the one there given will be found in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 1, 1:—*Devāsūrāḥ saṁyattūḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmān vasa samyagadhata* "idam u no bhaviṣhyati yadi no jeshyanti" *iti | tad Agnir nyakāmaya | tena apākrāmat | tad devāḥ vijitya avarurutsamānūḥ anvāyan | tad asya sahasā ādīśanta | so 'rodīt | yad arodīt tad Rudrasya Rudratvam* | "The gods and Asuras engaged in battle. The gods, conquering, deposited valuable property with Agni, saying, 'If they should ever conquer us, we shall have this.' Agni desired the property; and went off with it. The gods, after being victorious, went after him to recover their goods, which they sought to take from him by force. He wept. From his weeping Rudra gets his character of Rudra."

<sup>88</sup> The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nūbhīr iha me sadhastham ime me devāḥ ayam aham Sarvaḥ | dvijāḥ aha prathama-jāḥ ṛitasya idam dhenur aduhaj jāyamānā* | "This is my centre, here is my abode, these are my gods, this is I, Śarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 14. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Aśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (*bhavati*) from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 16. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the 'Great god' is Prajāpati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Īśāna is the Sun, because he rules (*īśhṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' 18. These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy, see above, para. 8 in the preceding page) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*tricitā*) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.'<sup>60</sup> This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

<sup>60</sup> The same words occur in the Taitt. S. ii. 2, 6, 5; and the Taitt. Br. i. 1, 6, 3. The Commentator on the latter passage says: *Agner mukha-jalvena gāyatrī-sambandhitvam* | "Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."

Mārk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpāday ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradyūyataḥ prabhoḥ* | 3. *Prādur-astid athānke 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ | ruroda suscaraṁ so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama | kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha jagat-patim | Rudras tvaṁ deva nāmnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyam āvaha | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛito ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tasmai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ | sīhānāni chaishāṁ aśtūnām patnīḥ putrāṁś cha vai dvija | Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatheśānaṁ tatāḥ Paśupatiṁ prabhuḥ | Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uvācha sa Pitāmahaḥ* |

“When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (i.e. Brahmā) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, ‘Why dost thou weep?’ He answered the lord of the world, ‘Give me a name.’ [Brahmā rejoined], ‘Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.’ Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.”

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Āśāni) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṅkhāyana or Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who copied it from the MS. of the Sāṅkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāti-kāmas tapo 'tapyata | tasmāt taptāt pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityaś Chandra-māḥ Ushāḥ panchamī | tān abravīd “yūyam api tapyadhvam” | te 'dikshanta | tān dikshitāṁś tepānān Ushāḥ prajāpatyā 'psaro-rūpūṁ kṛtvā purastāt pratyudait | tasyāṁ eṣhūṁ manaḥ samapatat | te reto 'sinchanta | To prajāpatim pitaram etya abruvan “reto vai asichāmahai idam no mā amuyā bhūd” iti | saprajāpatir hiraṇmayāṁ chamasam akarod iṣhu-mātram ūrdhvan evam tiryancham | tasmīn retāḥ samasinchat | tataḥ udatishṭhat sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt sahasrēṇa pratikīṭhābhīḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt “kathā mā 'bhyā-*

'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 14. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Aśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (*bharati*) from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 16. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the 'Great god' is Prajāpati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Īśāna is the Sun, because he rules (*īśhṛṣṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' 18. These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy, see above, para. 8 in the preceding page) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛttā*) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.'<sup>80</sup> This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

<sup>80</sup> The same words occur in the Taitt. S. ii. 2, 5, 5; and the Taitt. Br. i. 1, 5, 3. The Commentator on the latter passage says: *Agner mukha-jatvena gāyatrī-sambandhi-  
tvam* | "Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."

Mārk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhīyataḥ prabhoḥ* | 3. *Prādur-āśīd athānke 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitāḥ* | *ruroda susvaraṁ so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama* | *kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha* | *nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha jagat-patim* | *Rudras tvaṁ deva nāmnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyam āva ha* | *evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitvo ruroda ha* | *tato 'nyāni dadau tasmai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ* | *sīhānāni chaisham aśhṭānām patnīḥ putrāṁś cha vai dvija* | *Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatheśūnaṁ tathā Paśupatiṁ prabhuḥ* | *Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uvācha sa Pitāmahaḥ* |

"When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (i.e. Brahmā) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, 'Why dost thou weep?' He answered the lord of the world, 'Give me a name.' [Brahmā rejoined], 'Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.' Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva."

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Āśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṅkhāyana or Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who copied it from the MS. of the Sāṅkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāti-kāmas tapo 'tapyata* | *tasmāt taptāt pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityas Chandra-māḥ Ushāḥ panchamī* | *tān abravīd "yūyam api tapyadhvam"* | *te 'dikshanta* | *tān dikshitūṁś tepānān Ushāḥ prajāpatya 'psaro-rūpaṁ kṛtvā purastāt pratyudait* | *tasyām eśham manāḥ samapatat* | *te reto 'sinchanta* | *Te prajāpatim pitaram etya abruvan "reto vai asiśhāmahai idam no mā amuyā bhūd"* | *iti* | *sa prajāpatir hiraṇmayāṁ chamasam akarod iśhu-mātram ūrdhvam evam tiryancham* | *tasmīn retāḥ samasinchat* | *tataḥ udatisīkṣhat sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt sahasrēṇa pratihitābhīḥ* | 2. *Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat* | *taṁ abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyā-*

yaohhasi" iti | "nāma me kuru" ity abravīn "na vai idam avilītena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Bhavaḥ eva" iti yad Bhavaḥ āpas | tena na ha vai evam Bhavo hinasti na asya prajāñ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ dhana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān dhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam ā im eva vāsaḥ paridadhīta iti | 3. Tam dvitīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "dvitīyam me nāma kuru" ity abravīn "na vai idam ekena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" iti abravīch "Chharvaḥ eva" iti yach Chharvo 'gniḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Sarvo hinasti na asya prajāñ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ dhana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān dhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam sarvam eva na aśnīyād iti | 4. Tam tṛitīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "tṛitīyam me nāma kuru" ity abravīn "na vai idam dvābhyāñ nāmaabhyām annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Paśupatiḥ eva" iti yat Paśupatiḥ Vāyuḥ | tena na ha vai enam Paśupatiḥ hinasti na asya prajāñ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ dhana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān dhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam brāhmaṇam eva na parivaded iti | 5. Tam chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "chaturtham me nāma kuru" ity abravīt | "na vai idam tribhir nāma-bhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Ugraḥ eva devaḥ" iti yad Ugro devaḥ ośadhayo vanaśpatayaḥ | tena na ha vai enam Ugro devo hinasti na asya prajāñ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ dhana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān dhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrātāñ striyāñ eva vivarañ na īksheta iti | 6. Tam pañchamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | pañchamam me nāma kuru" ity abravīt | "na vai idam chaturbhir nāmaabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīn "Mahān eva devaḥ" iti | yan Mahān devaḥ Ādityaḥ | Tena na ha vai enam Mahān devo hinasti na asya prajāñ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ dhana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān dhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam udyantam eva enaṁ na īksheta aśtāñ yantañ oḥa iti | 7. Tam śa-śhṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "śaśhṭham me nāma kuru" ity abravīt | "na vai idam pañchabhir nāmaabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Rudraḥ eva" iti yad Rudraḥ Chāṇḍramāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Rudro hinasti na asya prajāñ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ dhana | atha yaḥ enaṁ

*dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ vimūrtam eva nāstīyān majjānaṁ cha iti | 8. Tam saptaṁam abhyāyaoḥḥat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyaoḥḥasi" iti | "saptaṁam me nāma kuru" ity abravīt | "na vai idaṁ śhaḍbhīr nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Īśānaḥ eva" iti yad Īśāno 'nnaṁ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Īśāno hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvānaṁ ohana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ annam eva iohhamānaṁ na prat-yūchakṣita iti | 9. Tam aśṭamam abhyāyaoḥḥat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyaoḥḥasi" iti | "aśṭamam me nāma kuru" ity abravīt "na vai idaṁ saptaḥbhīr nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Āsanir eva" iti yad Āsanir Indrāḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Āsanir hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvānaṁ ohana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ satyam eva vadeḥ hiraṇyaṁ cha bibhṛiyād iti | sa oḥo 'śṭanāma 'śṭadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ū ha vai asya aśṭamāt puruṣhāt prajā 'nnaṁ atti vasiyān vasiyān ha eva asya prajāyūm ājāyate yaḥ evaṁ veda |*

"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (a celestial nymph) rose up. Their attention was riveted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows on the string. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' 'Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with



him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.' 'Thou art Sarva,' Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sarva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (the Wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god),' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahādeva (the great god),' Prajāpati answered; for Mahādeva is Āditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahādeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything coagulated [or solid],<sup>90</sup> or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Īśāna does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajā-

<sup>90</sup> This is the sense assigned by Böhlingk and Roth, s.v. *mūrohh+vi*.

pati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahādeva (great god), who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier and wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

The following is the account given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Satarudriya:

Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.<sup>91</sup>—*Atha ataḥ satarudriyaṁ juhoti | atra eṣa sarvo 'gniḥ saṁskṛtaḥ | sa eṣo 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmīn devāḥ etad amṛitaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuh | sa eṣo 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abibhavyur "yad vai no 'yam na him-nyād" iti | 2. Te 'bruvann "annam asmai sambharāma tena enaṁ samayāma" iti | tasmai etad annaṁ samabharan śānta-devatyam<sup>92</sup> | tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etaṁ devam etena aśamayaṁ tasmāc chhānta-devatyam | "śānta-devatyam ha vai tach chhatarudriyam" ity āchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ |*

"He now offers an oblation with the Satarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called 'Śāntadevatya' ('that with which a god is appeased'). They call this 'Śāntadevatya' esoterically 'Sata-rudriya'; for the gods love what is esoteric."

<sup>91</sup> Compare Taitt. Br. i. 6, 1, 2. In the same work, i. 7, 1, 2, we read that the gods and Asuras were fighting, when the former said to Agni, "We shall conquer with thee as our champion." He said, "I shall transform myself into three parts." He did so, Agni being one part, Rudra a second, and Varuṇa a third, etc (*te devāḥ Agnim abruvan "tvayā vireṇa Asurān abhibhavāma" iti | so 'bravit "tredhū ātmānāṁ vikarishye" iti | sa tredhū ātmānam vyakuruta Agniṁ tritīyaṁ Rudraṁ tritīyaṁ Varuṇaṁ tritīyaṁ ityādī*).

<sup>92</sup> *Śānta-devatyam śānta-devatārthaṁ devatā-śāntya-arthaṁ* Comm.

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yañ homo Rudra-rūpata, pannasya Agner upasamanārtham* | "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."<sup>93</sup>

The same work gives, a little further on, another account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—*Prajāpater vierastād devatāḥ udakrāmāṃs tam ekah eva devo na ajahūd Manyur eva* | *so 'sminn antar vitato 'tishthāt* | *so 'rodit* | *tasya yāny āsrāṇi prāskandaṃs tāny asmin Manyau pratyatishthān* | *sa eva śata-śīrṣhāḥ Rudrah samabhavat sahasrākṣah śateshudhīḥ* | *atha yāḥ anyāḥ vipruṣho 'pataṃs tā asankhyātā sahasrāṇi*<sup>94</sup> | *imān lokān anuprāviśan* | *tad yad ruditāt samabhavaṃs tasmād Rudrah* | *so 'yañ śataśīrṣhāḥ Rudrah sahasrākṣah śateshudhir*<sup>95</sup> | *adhijya-dhanvā pratihitāyī bhīṣhayamāṇo 'tishthād annam iśhamānaḥ* | *tasmād devāḥ abibhayaḥ* | 7. *Te Prajāpatim abruvan* | "*asmād vai bibhīmo yad vai no 'yañ na hiṃsyād*" *iti* | *so 'bravīt* "*annam asmai sambharata tena enaṃ samayata*" *iti* | *tasmai stad annaṃ samabharan śatarudriyaṃ tena enaṃ āsamayan* | *tad yad etaṃ śataśīrṣhāṇāṃ Rudram stena āsamayaṃs tasmācchhataśīrṣha-rudra-samaniyam* | *śataśīrṣha-rudra-samaniyam ha vai tat śatarudriyam ity āchakṣhate parokṣham* | *parokṣha-kāmāḥ hi devūḥ ityādi* | . . . 14. "*Namas te Rudra manyave*" *iti* | *yah eva asmin so 'ntar Manyur vitato 'tishthāt tasmai etan namas-karoty uto* | "*te ishava namo bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ*" *iti* | *ishvā cha hi bāhubhyām cha bhīṣhayamāṇo 'tishthāt* |

6. "From Prajāpati, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

<sup>93</sup> In the Taitt. S. v. 4, 3, 1. it is said: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ* | *sa etarhi jūto yārhi sarvaś chītaḥ sa yathā vatso jūtaḥ stanam prepsaty evaṃ vai esha etarhi bhū-gadheyam prepsati* | *tasmai yad āhutiṃ na juhuyād adhvaryuṃ cha yajamānaṃ cha āhyāyet* | *S'atarudriyaṃ juhoti* | *bhūgadheyena eva enaṃ samayati* | *na ūrtim ā archaty adhvaryuṃ na yajamānaḥ* | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). When now he is born, and all kindled, as a calf when born desires the udder, so he now desires his share. If an oblation were not presented to him, he would turn his thoughts (with the view of devouring) towards both the adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer. The S'atarudriya is celebrated; and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvaryu and sacrificer avoid injury." The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ* | *sa yathā vyāghrah krudāḥs tishthaty evaṃ vai esha etarhi* | *sanehi-tam etair upatishthate namaskarair eva enaṃ samayati* | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tiger stands raging, so does he now. The priest approaches with these [oblations] [the fire] that has been prepared [and kindled]; and quiets him with prostrations.

<sup>94</sup> Compare Nir. i, 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, 325.

<sup>95</sup> Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 323.

departed. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, and arrows on the string, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajāpati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is 'that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased' (*Śata-śiṣha-rudra-samanīyam*). This they esoterically call Śatarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric." . . . 14. "'Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath' (see above, p. 326, verse 1). (In these words) he (the priest) expresses reverence to Manyu, who stood extended within him (Rudra). 'Reverence also to thy arrow and thine arms.' He (the god) stood causing terror with his arrow and arms."

The word Mahādeva occurs in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vi. 9, 7, *Yām samām Mahādevaḥ paśūn hanyād ityādi* | "In whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle." The same work, vii. 9, 16 ff., makes mention of Rudra in connexion with cattle or victims: *Devāḥ vai paśūn vyabhajanta | te Rudram antarāyan* | "The gods were dividing the victims. They passed over Rudra."

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 204), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,<sup>86</sup> however, which is narrated in the Vana-parvan of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived :

<sup>86</sup> Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note, 1st ed. = p. 701, 2nd ed.) observes that this legend differs from this one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.

14427 ff.—*Āgama manuḥa-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | arohe-  
yāmāsa suprito bhagavān govriṣa-dhvajāḥ | Rudraṁ Agniṁ devijāḥ prā-  
huḥ Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudreṇa śukraṁ uterishṭaṁ tat śvetaḥ  
parvato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śveto kṛittikābhiḥ kṛitaṁ nago | pū-  
jyamānaṁ tu Rudreṇa dṛishṭvā sarve divaukasaḥ | Rudra-sūnuḥ tataḥ  
prāhur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṇa vahnīm jāto hy  
ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat | Ru-  
drasya Vahnēḥ Scāhāyāḥ śhaṇṇāṁ strināṁ cha Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ  
suru-śreṣṭhō Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat |*

“The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Agni Rudra; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honoured by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Agni, [who was] Rudra, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives [of the Rishis], was the son of Rudra.”

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*deva-senā*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.).

Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vāsishṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

*Nishkrāmaṁś chāpy apaśyat sa patnīś teshāṁ mahātmanām | sveshv  
āśrameshūpaviśhṭh śvapantīś cha tathā sukhām | rukma-vedi-nibhās<sup>97</sup> tās  
tu oṁandra-lekhāś ivāmālāś | hutāsānārchīś-pratimāś sarvās tārāś ivā-  
bhūtāś | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva kṣubhitendriyaś | patnīr dṛishṭvā  
dvijendrāṇām Vahnīś kāma-vaśāṁ yayau | bhūyaś sa chintayāmāsa na  
nyāyāṁ kṣubhito hy aham | sādhyāś patnyo dvijendrāṇām akamāś  
kūmayāmy aham | naitāś śakyāś mayā dṛashṭum prashṭum vā 'py ani-  
mittataś | gūrhapatyaṁ samūviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhikṣhṇasūś | sa-  
m-  
apṛisann iva sarvās tūś śikhābhīś kāñchana-prabhāś | paśyamānās cha  
mumude gūrhapatyaṁ samūśritaś | niruṣhya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vah-  
nir vaśāṁ gataś | manas tāsū viniṣkṣhipya kūmayāno varāṅganāś | kāma-  
santapta-hṛidayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaś | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīṇām Agnir  
vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Dakṣa-duhitā prathamāṁ kāmayat tadā |  
sā tasya chhidram anvaichchach chīrāt-prabhṛitī bhāvinī | apramattasya  
devasya na cha paśyaty aninditā | sū tam jñātvā yathārat tu Vahnīm  
vanam upāgatam | tattvataś kāma-santaptaṁ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī |  
aham saptarśhi-patnīnām kṛitā rūpūṇi Pūvakam | kūmayishyāmi kāmā-  
mūrtū tāsām rūpeṇa mohitam | evaṁ kṛite prītur aśya kāmārūptīś cha  
me bharet | S'ivā bhāryā tv Angirasaś śīla-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāś sū  
prathamāṁ rūpaṁ kṛitvā derī janādhipa | jugūṁsa Pūvakūbhyāsaṁ tam  
chovācha varāṅganā | mām Agno kāma-santaptaṁ tvam kūmayitum  
arhasi | kariṣhyasi na ched evam mṛitām mām upadhāraya | aham  
Angiraso bhāryā S'ivā-nāmā Hutāsana | śiṣṭābhīś prakṛitā prāptā  
mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnir uvācha | katham mām tvam vijñātshe  
kāmārtam itarāś katham | yūś tvayā kīrtitāś sarvāś saptarśhinām  
priyāś strīyaś | S'ivā uvācha | asmākūṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhīmas tu  
vayaṁ tuva | tvachchittam ingitair jñātvā pṛeshitā 'smi tavāntikam |  
maithunāyecha samprāptā kāmam prāptum drutaṁ chara | yāmāyo mām*

<sup>97</sup> In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as *Rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the Commentator explains as *rukma-vedīm prāptam hiraṇyeeṣṭaka-śmīṇām vedīm prāptam* | "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."

*pratīkshante gamishyāmi Hutāsena | Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ uvācha | tato 'gnir  
 upayame tām S'ivām prītām mudā yutaḥ | prītyā devī samāyuktā śukraṁ  
 jagraha pāṇina | achintayad mamedam ye rūpaṁ drakshyanti kānane | te  
 brāhmaṇīnām anṛitaṁ doṣaṁ vakshyanti Pāvake | tasmād etad raksha-  
 mānā Garuḍī sambhavāmy aham | vanād nirgamanam chaiva sukham mama  
 bhaviṣyati | Suparṇī sā tadā bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apaśyat  
 parvataṁ śvetaṁ śara-slabhaiḥ susemṛitam | dṛishṭvīśhaiḥ sapta-śirṣhair  
 guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | rakṣobhīḥ cha piśāchais cha vaudrair bhāta-  
 gaṇais tathā | rākṣasībhis cha sampūrṇam anekaiścha mṛiga-dvijaiḥ | sā  
 tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-prīṣṭhaṁ sudurgamam | prākṣhipat kāñchane  
 kuṇḍe śukraṁ sā tvaṛitā śubhā | saplānām api sā devī saptarāśīnām  
 mahātmanām | patnī-sarūpatūṁ kṛitvā kūmayāmāsa Pāvakam | divya-  
 rūpam Arundhatyūḥ kartum na śakitaṁ tayā | tanyās tapaḥ-prabhāveṇa  
 bhartuḥ śuśrūṣaṇena cha | \*śat-kṛitras tat tu nīkṣhipam Agneḥ retaḥ  
 Kurūttama | tasmīn kuṇḍe pratīpadi kāmīnyā Svāhayā tadā | tat skan-  
 nam tejasū tatra samṛitam janayat sutam | rīṣidbhiḥ pūjitaṁ skannam  
 anayat Skandatām tataḥ | śaṭ-śirāḥ dviguṇa-brotro dvādaśākṣi-bhūja-  
 kramaḥ | eka-grīvaika-jātharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata | . . . . .  
 v. 14514: Yadā Skandena mūṛṭīnām evam etat priyam kṛitam | ta-  
 thainam abravīt Svāhā "mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhāmy aham  
 tvayā datūm prītim parama-durlabhām" | tām abravīt tataḥ Skandāḥ  
 prītim ichhasi kīdrīṣiṁ | Svāhā uvācha | Dakṣasyāham priyā kanyā  
 Svāhā nāma mahābhūja | bālyāt prabhṛiti nityancha jāta-kāmā Hutā-  
 śane | na sa mām kāmīnīm putra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | ichhāmi  
 śāśvataṁ vāsaṁ vastum putra sahūgninā | Skandāḥ uvācha | Havyam  
 kavyancha yat kinchid dvijānām mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyanty Agnau  
 sadā devī svāhety uktvā sanuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dāsyanti svṛittāḥ  
 sat-pathe sthitāḥ | evam Agnir tvayā sardham sadā vatsyati śobhane |  
 Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ uvācha | evam uktā tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjitā |  
 Pāvakena samāyuktā bhartrā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahā-  
 senam Prajāpatir athabravīt | abhigaccha Mahādevam pitarām tripurār-  
 danam | Rudreṇāgniṁ sanāviśya svāhām āviśya chomayā | hitārtham  
 sarva-lokānām jatas tvam aparājitaḥ |*

"Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] reclining in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars, pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of

the Brahmins, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, 'It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmins, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.' Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmins' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I, who am distressed by love, will take the forms of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni, who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the handsome goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Sīvā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil thy desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hūtāśana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sīvā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmins' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will



become easy. She then, becoming Suparnī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents, whose very glance was venomous, by Rākshasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Rakshasis, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vasiṣṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the pratipad (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*slanna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of Skanda. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*svarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Dakṣa, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me, who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmins is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, "Svāhā." From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, O beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of

**Tripara.** Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā.”

**SECT. V.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.**

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmanas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Svetāsvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii., pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāsvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Yañ eko jūlavān īsate īsanibhiḥ sarvān lokān īsate īsanibhiḥ | yañ eva ekaḥ udbhave sambhave cha ye etad vidur amṛitās te bhavanti |* 2. *Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāyo tasthur<sup>98</sup> yañ imān lokān īsate īsanibhiḥ | pratyāñ janāms tiṣṭhati sanchukopānta-kāle<sup>99</sup> sañsarjya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ |* 3. (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvatas-chakrahur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pat | sam bāhūbhyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvūbhūmīm (sic) janayan devaḥ ekaḥ |* 4. *Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvūdkipo Rudro maharshiḥ | Hiranyagarbhañ janayāmāsa pūrvañ<sup>100</sup> sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁ-yunaktu |* 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 322) . . . iv. 21. *Ajātuh ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dakṣiṇam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam |* 22=R.V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 with various readings (see above, pp. 303 and 323). “He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his

<sup>98</sup> These words *na dvitīyāyo tasthur* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a reading partly similar (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-sīras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vataste na dvitīyaḥ*; and Sayana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, *ekaḥ eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vataste*. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 12, note 4), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vataste na dvitīyo rañe vighnau pritañau satrūn | sañsarjya viśvā bhuvanāni gopā pratyāñ janān sanchukośānta-kāle |* “One only Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end.”

<sup>99</sup> The proper reading is probably *sanchukocha*. See the last note; and Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kuch*—*sañ*; where *sanchukocha* is given as the proper reading, instead of *sanchukośa*, which is found in Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

<sup>100</sup> These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jñyamānam*, i.e. “beheld Hiranyagarbha being born.” The rest of the verse remains the same.

powers, he who in origination and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, fashions them with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great rishi, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first generated Hiranyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man concludes thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra, protect me with thy southern face."

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-sīras<sup>101</sup> Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings:

*Devāḥ ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devāḥ Rudram aprichekhan*  
*"ko bhavān" iti | so 'bravīd "aham ekaḥ prathamam āsām vartāmi cha*  
*bhaviṣyāmi cha na anyāḥ kaśchid matto vyatiriktaḥ" iti | so 'ntarūd anta-*  
*ram prāvīśad diśaścha antaraṁ samprāvīśat | "so 'ham nityānityo vyaktū-*  
*vyakto 'ham Brahmābrahma aham prūṇchaḥ pratyancho 'ham dakṣiṇāncha*  
*[dakṣiṇās cha?] udancho 'ham adhaścha ūrdhvancha diśaścha pratīdiśaś-*  
*cha aham pumān apumān strī cha ahaṁ sūritry ahaṁ gūyatry aham*  
*trishṭub jagaty anusṭup cha ahaṁ chhando 'ham gārhapatyō dakṣiṇāgnir*  
*āhavanīyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gaury ahaṁ jyeshṭho 'haṁ śreshṭho*  
*'haṁ varishṭho 'ham ūpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham ṛig-yajuh-śāmātharvāṅgirasō*  
*'ham akṣharam ahaṁ kṣharam ahaṁ guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham*  
*pūshkaram aham pavitrām aham agrancho madhyancho vahiṣcha purastāj*  
*jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvancho mām eva mām yo veda sa sarvān devān*  
*veda | gūṁ gobhir brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇyena havīmāshi havishā āyur āyushā*  
*satyaṁ satyena dharmān dharmena tarpayāmi svena tejasā" | tato devāḥ*  
*Rudraṁ na apaśyams te devāḥ Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devāḥ ūrdhva-*  
*bāharaḥ stuvanti yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaś cha Brahmā tasmat*  
*vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Viṣṇus tasmat*  
*vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Mahōtvaras tasmat*

<sup>101</sup> A work called Atharva-sīras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyana, i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 165 f. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 ff.

*vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā oḥa Umā tasmai . . . |  
yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaśoḥa Vināyakas tasmai . . . | yo vai  
Rudraḥ . . . yaśoḥa Skandaḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśoḥa  
Indraḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśoḥa Agniḥ . . . | yo vai  
Rudraḥ . . . yā cha Bhūḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaśoḥa  
Bhuvāḥ . . . | om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvāḥ suvar ante śirsham  
janadom<sup>102</sup> viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahma ekas tvaṁ dvitridhā ūrdhvam adhaś  
cha tvaṁ śāntiścha tvaṁ puṣṭiścha tvaṁ tushṭiścha tvaṁ hutam ahutam  
viśvam aviśvaṁ dattam adattam kṛitam akṛitam param aparam parā-  
yaṇaṇcha iti | "apāma somam<sup>103</sup> amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma  
devān | kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrtir amṛita mar-  
tyasya" | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad aksharam prajā-  
patyaṁ sūkshmaṁ saumyam puruṣam agrūhyam agrūhyeṇa Vāyūṁ  
rūpyavyeṇa somaṁ saumyeṇa grasati svena tejasaḥ | tasmai upasaṁharte  
mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ | hṛidiśthāḥ devatāḥ sarvāḥ hṛidi prāṇe  
pratiśthitāḥ | hṛidi tvam asi yo nityaṁ tiro mātṛāḥ paras tu saḥ |  
tasya uttaraṭaḥ śiro dakṣhiṇataḥ pādau yaḥ uttaraṭaḥ sa oṃkāraḥ | yaḥ  
oṃkāraḥ sa prajāvo yaḥ prajāvaḥ sa sarva-vyūpī yaḥ sarva-vyūpī so  
'nanto yo 'nantas tat tūraṁ<sup>104</sup> yat tūraṁ tat sūkshmaṁ yat sūkshmaṁ  
tat śuklaṁ yat śuklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yad vaidyutaṁ tat param Brahma  
iti sa ekaḥ | sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa Maheśvaraḥ sa  
Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate oṃkāraḥ | yasmād uchchāryamāṇaḥ  
eva sarvaṁ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṃkāraḥ . . . atha  
kasmād uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokān udgrīhṇāti<sup>105</sup> sṛjati visṛjati  
vāsrayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ | "eko  
Rudro na dvitīyāya tathā (sthitavān | advitīyaḥ eva sthitavān | Comm.)  
turīyam imaṁ lokam īśate īśāniyur (niyamana-śaktimān | Comm.) janānī-  
yuh (viśvotpādaka-śaktimān | Comm.) | pratyaṁ janāś tishṭhanti saṁyug*

<sup>102</sup> The commentator explains this thus: Ś'irshaṁ śiro mantrāḥ svāḥā ity evaṁrū-  
pah | janadom janada iti kormopalakṣhaṇārtham akshara-trayam | janam janīm tad-  
upalakṣhita-janīmad vastu-jātam tad dadāti iti janadaḥ | tasya sambodhanam | Instead  
of the words in the text, another MS. reads, bhūs te ādī madhyam bhūvas te evas te  
ś'irshaṁ viśvarūpo 'si.

<sup>103</sup> Umāyā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṇyā Kātyōyanyā saha vartate iti Somas tam |  
[Soma is thus = sa + Uma, "with Umā"] yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amṛitāḥ maraṇa-  
hetudhir avidyā-tai-kārya-saṁśakūarair vīvarjitāḥ abhūma sampannāḥ | —Comm.

<sup>104</sup> Tūrayati, "delivers:" that which delivers.—Comm.

<sup>105</sup> Ūrdhva-mokṣham ātmani grīhṇāti | —Comm.

asyāntakāle samhritya viśvā bhuvānāni goptā" | tasmād uchyate *eko Rudraḥ*<sup>106</sup> | atha kasmād uchyate *Īśāno* "yaḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhir" janantībhiḥ parama-śaktībhiḥ | "abhi tvā sūra nonumaha adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ | īśanam asya jagataḥ swardriśam īśanam Indra tastushaḥ" | (R.V. vii. 32, 22) | tasmād uchyate *Īśānaḥ* | . . . . atha kasmād uchyate *Mahēśvaraḥ* | yaḥ sarvān lokān sambhaktshaḥ sambhaktshayaty aśasraṁ srijati visrijati vāsrayati tasmād uchyate *Mahēśvaraḥ* | atha kasmād uchyate *Mahādevaḥ* | yaḥ sarvān bhāvān parityajya ātma-jñāna-yogaiś-varye mahati mahīyate tasmād uchyate *Mahādevaḥ* | tad etad (etad nūma-nirukti-rūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) *Rudra-charitam* | "eṣo ha devaḥ pradīśo 'nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātāḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ | sa eva jātāḥ sa janīhyamāṇaḥ pratyāṇ janāś tishṭhāti viśvato-mukhaḥ" | (Vāj. S. 32, 4) | "viśvataś-chakshur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati saṁ patatrair dyāvā-prithivī janāyan devaḥ ekaḥ" | (R.V. x. 81, 3) | . . . . *Rudre ekatvam* (aikyam | Comm.) āhuḥ | *Rudraṁ śāsvataṁ vai purāṇam ityādi* . . . . | *vrataṁ etat pāsupatam* | *Agnir iti bhasma Vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthālam iti bhasma vyoma iti bhasma sarvaṁ ha vai idam bhasma manaḥ etāni chakshuṁśi bhasmāni* | "*Agnir*" ityādīnā bhasma grihitvā nimrījya angāni saṁsṛjīṣet | tasmād vrataṁ etat pāsupatam paśu-pāśa-vimokśhāya | yo 'tharva-śīram brūhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gni-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa āditya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati | sa sarveshu tirtheshu smāto bhavati | su sarveshu vedeshu adhito bhavati | sa sarva-veda-vrata-charyāsu charito bhavati | sa sarvair devair jñāto bhavati | sa sarva-yajna-kratubhir īśṭvān bhavati | tena itihāsa-purāṇānāṁ *Rudrāṇāṁ śata-sahasrāṇi japtāni bhavanti* | *gūyatryāḥ śata-sahasraṁ japtam bhavati* | *prajāvānāṁ ayutāṁ japtam bhavati* | rūpe rūpe (pūṭhe pūṭhe pratipāṭham | Comm.) *dāśa-pūrvān punāti dāśottarān ā chakshushaḥ panktim punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śīro 'tharva-śīraḥ* (abhyāsaḥ ādarārthaḥ | Comm.) | *sakṛj japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmāṇyo bhavati* | *dvitīyaṁ japtvā gāṇapatyam* (sarva-nīyantrītvam | Comm) *avāpnōti tṛtīyaṁ japtvā devam eva anu-praviśaty oṁ satyam* | "yo Rudro agnau yo apsv antar ya ośadhīr vīrudhaḥ āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvānāni chūkṛīpe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu Agnaye" | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

<sup>106</sup> In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: *Yasmād rishībhir na anyair bhaktair drī tam asya rūpaṁ upatādhyate* | "He is called 'Rudra' because his form is quickly (*drutam*) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons."

“The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, ‘Who art thou?’ He said, ‘I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.’ He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. ‘I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,<sup>107</sup> I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Sāvitrī, I the Gāyatrī, I the Trishtubh, Jagatī, and Anushtubh (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,<sup>108</sup> I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāṅgirasas, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the pushkara (sacificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light, —I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmans with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.’ Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditate upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praise him: ‘He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Viṣṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Mahēśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūh, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc. (In the same way Rudra is identified with *svaś* [svaś]; *mahaś*; *jana*; *tapas*; *satya*; *prithivī*; *āpas*; *tejas*; *vāyu*; *ākāśa*; *sūrya*; *soma*; *nakṣatrāṇi*; *aṣṭau grahāḥ*; *prāṇa*; *kāla*; *Yama*; *mṛityu*; *amṛita*; *bhūta*; *bhavya*; *bhaviṣyat*; *viśva*; *kṛtina*;

<sup>107</sup> *Vākyābhyāso rūpasya ātmano vāstavaiva-pradarīdanārthaḥ* | Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not *Brahma*, but *abrahma*.

<sup>108</sup> *S'iva-priyā* | *aṣṭavarshā vā kumārī gaura-varnā bāla-tālā (?) tu* | Comm.

*sarva*; and *satya*.) Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūḥ, Bhuvah, Svah; at the end is the head. O giver of life, Om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly, and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, O immortal god?'<sup>109</sup> This imperishable [principle], beneficial to the whole world, sprung from [or, having the nature of,] Prajāpati, subtle, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Puruṣa by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of Vāyu, soma by that which has the nature of soma.<sup>110</sup> To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the praṇava, which (praṇava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtle, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma: thus he is the one. He is the only Rudra, he is Īśāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as so soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra." (The same inquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words 'praṇava,' 'sarvavyāpin' ['all-pervading'], 'ananta' ['infinite'] the 'deliverer,' 'subtle,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then 'eka,' 'one,' is explained.) "Now why is he called 'one'? He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the

<sup>109</sup> Quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 265. According to the commentator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa-uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyanī. What would the Vedic rishi who composed the verse have said to this mystical interpretation? Such explanations are not, however, peculiar to the adherents of any one religion.

<sup>110</sup> I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

‘one.’ Now why is he called the one Rudra? ‘There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within him united with him. At the time of the end he annihilates all worlds, the protector.’ Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called *Īśāna*? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. ‘We, O heroic Indra, like un milked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (*Īśāna*) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].<sup>111</sup> Hence he is called ‘*Īśāna*.’ (‘*Bhagavat*’ is then explained.) Then why is he called *Mahāśvara*? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called *Mahāśvara*. Then why is he called *Mahādeva*? He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called *Mahādeva*. Such is the history of Rudra. ‘This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, O men, pervading all things, with his face turned to every side.’ (*Vāj. S.* 32, 4.) ‘The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, fabricates them with his arms, and with his wings.’” (*R.V.* x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. “In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval,” etc. The *Pāśupata* rite is thus described: “This is the *Pāśupata* observance; ‘*Agni* is ashes, *Vayu* is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes, are ashes.’ Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the *Pāśupata* rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the *Atharva-sīra* is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of *itihāsas*, *purāṇas*, and *Rudras* (formulas

<sup>111</sup> *R.V.* vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.



relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand Oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-sīras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters into the god: Om, [this is] true.- 'Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.' "

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which I need not attempt to translate at length) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kūraṇām tu dhyeyaḥ sarvaiśvarya-sampannāḥ sarveśvaraś cha Sambhuḥ ākāśa-madhye dhruvaṁ stabdhvā 'dhikāṁ kṣaṇam ekaṁ kratuśatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyā yat phalaṁ tad avūpnoti kṛtsnam oṁ-kāragataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānām yat phalaṁ tad oṁkāra veda-para īśo vā śiva eko dhyeyaḥ śivankaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya*).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Āśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalūyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasamtya uvācha adhihi bhagavan brahma-vidyām ityādi*). Brahmā (*pitāmaha*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-siṭhaḥ sakalendriyāni nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum praṇamya | hrīṭ-puṇḍarikāṁ virajāṁ viśuddhaṁ viśintya madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yonim | tam ādi-madhyānta-vihīnam ekaṁ vibhuṁ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhitam | Umā-sahāyam paramēśvaram prabhuṁ trilochanaṁ nīla-kanṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gaohhati bhūta-yoniṁ samasta-sūkṣhīṁ tamasaḥ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Śivaḥ Sendraḥ so 'ksharaḥ paramaḥ svarāt | sa eva Viṣṇuḥ sa prāṇaḥ sa ātmā paramēśvaraḥ<sup>112</sup> | sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyaṁ sanātanam | jñātvā taṁ mṛityum atyeti nānyaḥ panthā vimuk-*

<sup>112</sup> Another MS. has here *Sa kālō 'gnīḥ sa Chandramāḥ*.

*tayo | . . . yaḥ śatarudriyam adhite so 'gnipāto bhavati sa Vāyupūto bhavati ityādi |* "A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (i.e. that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the consort of Umā, the supreme lord, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Rudra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Viṣṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation." Further on it is said: "He who reads the Śatarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air," etc., etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the *Nilurudropanishad*, which begins thus: *Apāśyaṁ ohāvarohantaṁ divitaḥ prithivimayaḥ | apāśyam apāśyaṁ taṁ Rudraṁ nilagrivaṁ śikh-andīnam |* "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition contains many verses from the Śatarudriya.

SECT. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 165, 176, 178, 184–205, 223–228, 230–232, 240 f., 266–273, 278–281, 282–289). I shall now adduce such other passages from the *Itihāsas*, or *Purāṇas*, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and *Yuddha-Kāṇḍa*, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 165,

176 f., and 178 ff. The other texts of the Rāmāyaṇa in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god bear generally, perhaps, a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyaṇa i. 23, 10 ff. (ed. Bombay), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid), who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerities; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*ananga*). (*Kandarpo mūrtimān āsit Kāmaḥ ity uchyate budhaiḥ | tapasyantam iha Sthānuṁ nimayena samāhitam |* 11. *Kṛitodvāhaṁ tu deveṣaṁ gachhantaṁ sa-marud-gaṇam | dharṣayāmāsa durmedhāḥ kunṛitaś cha mahātmanā |* 12. *Avadhyataś cha Rudreṇa cakakushā Raghunandana | vyaśīryanta śarīrāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ |* )

In i. 35, 20 (Bombay ed.), it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the "unequalled Rudra" (*Rudrāya apratirūpāya*). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Śiva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: *Purā Rāma kṛitodvāhaḥ Sītikanṭho mahātapaḥ |* 6. *Dṛiṣṭvā cha bhagavān devīm maithunāyopachakrame | tasya saṁkriḍamānasya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | Sītikanṭhasya devasya divyaṁ varṣa-śataṁ gatam |* 7. *Na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyām āsit parantapa |* "Formerly, after his marriage, Sītikanṭha (Śiva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sītikanṭha was thus sporting. But, O Rāma, vexer of thy foes, no son was born to Umā." The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 354), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Śiva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-seventh section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Śiva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerities, the other deities went to Brahṁā and asked for a general in the room of Mahā-

deva, who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (i.e. Mahādeva), is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (sect. 38, v. 3, Schlegel's ed.=sect. 37, 3, of Bombay ed.: *Yo naḥ*<sup>113</sup> *senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāsa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rishi Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 40, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Siva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 43) continued his austerities till Siva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*), appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, and came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, Siva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths

<sup>113</sup> *Yo naḥ* is the reading of Schlegel's edition, as well as of Gorgesio's, 39, 3. The Bombay edition reads *gena*, which does not seem so good a reading.

of the serpent Vāsuki, who was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Siva to deliver them from this portent:

21. *Atha devāḥ Mahādevaṁ Sankaraṁ śaraṇārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatiṁ Rudraṁ trāhi trāhiti tushṭvuh |* 22. *Evam uktas tato devair deva-dveṣvaraḥ prabhuḥ | prādūrāsīt tato 'traiva śankha-chakra-dhara Hariḥ |* 23. *Uvāchainaṁ smitaṁ kṛtvā Rudraṁ śūla-dharaṁ Hariḥ | daivatair mathyamāne tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam |* 24. *Tat tvadīyaṁ sura-śreṣṭha surāṇāṁ agrato hi yat | agra-pūjāṁ iha sthitvā grihāṇedaṁ viṣhaṁ prabho |* 25. *Ity uktvā cha sura-śreṣṭhas tatraivāntaradhīyata | devatānāṁ bhayaṁ dṛiṣṭvā śrutvā vākyaṁ tu Śaṅgīṇaḥ |* 26. *Halāhalaṁ viṣhaṁ ghoraṁ sanjagrāhāmṛitopamam | devān viśījya deveṣo jagāma bhagavān Haraḥ |* 21. "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Sankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' 22. Then, being addressed by the gods, the lord of the gods, Hari, appeared on that very spot, bearing the shell and the discus, (23) and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: 'That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, (24) belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art at the head of them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' 25. Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Viṣṇu, (26) he (Siva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Viṣṇu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Viṣṇu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Viṣṇu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhā<sup>114</sup> kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Siva as residing there:<sup>115</sup>

Kishk. 44, 27 ff. (ed. Gorresio = Bombay ed. 43, 20 f.).—*Tam tu*

<sup>114</sup> In the Bombay edition this word is written 'Kishkindhā,' without a *y* before the final *ā*, which it has in Gorresio's edition.

<sup>115</sup> See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kāṇḍa, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or mount Kailāsa.

*sighram atikramya kântāraṁ loma-harṣhaṇam | pāṇḍuraṁ drakṣyatha tataḥ Kailāsaṁ nāma parvatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhaṁ Jāmbūnada-parishkṛitam | Kuvera-bhavanaṁ divyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇ |*  
 "Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

The Bombay edition, 43, 54 ff., has the following lines, in which Rudra may be referred to: *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān |* 55. *Na tu deśo viśūryo 'pi tasya bhāsū prakāśate | sūrya-lakṣmīyā 'bhivijneyo tapateva Vivasvata |* 56. *Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātmā Sāmbhūr ekādaśāt-makaḥ |* *Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarshi-parivārītaḥ*<sup>116</sup> | 54. "Beyond this monarch of mountains is the northern ocean, in the midst of which stands the great golden mountain, called Somagiri. 55. With its lustre that region, although sunless, shines; and is distinguished by a solar splendour, as if from the beams of Vivasvat (the sun). 56. There the divine soul of the universe, the eleven-fold Sāmbhu, Brahmā, lord of the gods, dwells, attended by the Brahman Rishis."

In Gorresio's edition (44, 117 ff.) this passage shows a number of various readings: *Kurāṁs tām samatikramya uttare payasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān |* 118. *Indra-loka-gatāḥ ye cha Brahma-loka-gatāḥ cha ye | sarve te samavaiṣhanta girirājāṁ divyaṁ 'gatāḥ |* 119. *Asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsū prakāśate | sasūryaḥ iva lakṣmīrāṁs tapatīva divākare |* 120. *Bhagavāṁs tatra bhūtātma Srayambhūr bahudhātmaḥ |* *Brahmā bhavati caśyātma sarvātma sarva-bhāvanaḥ |* 117. "Beyond, to the north of the Uttara Kurus, is an ocean, in which is a great mountain, as it were of gold. 118. All those who have gone to the sky, to the world of Indra, or to that of Brahmā, have beheld the king of mountains. 119. By its

<sup>116</sup> The commentator thus explains this verse: *Viśvam atati vyāpnoti iti viśvātmā vyūpakas tena Viśṇu-rūpaḥ | viśṇu-vyūptāv ity anusārāt | sa eva Sāmbhuḥ sam bhavaty aśmūt | sa eva ekādaśātmaḥ ekādaśānuvūkīrthahīkādāda-rudrātmaḥ | sa eva Brahmā brīmhaṇatvāt jagat-sraṣṭṛtvāt |* "Viśvātmā means, he who pervades all things; and consequently he is in the form of Viśṇu, as Viśṇu has the sense of pervader. The same being is Sāmbhu, he from whom prosperity (*śam*) arises (*bhavati*); and he is also elevenfold, in the form of the eleven Rudras, who signify eleven repetitions of him (P). The same being is also Brahmā, from his increasing,—creating the world."

light that region shines, although sunless, as if it had a sun, and resplendent as if the lord of day were blazing. 120. There the divine soul of beings, Svayambhū, Brahmā, dwells, self-subdued, the soul, and producer of all things." Here there is no reference to Mahādeva, Svayambhū being substituted for Sambhu.

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio's recension of the Rāmāyaṇa is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Bombay edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Taṁ tu deśam atikramya Trisṛiṅgo nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro divyam mahat lāṅghana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tīkṣhṇa-śrotās tarangiṇī | nadī naika-grahākīrṇā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī | tasyaikam kāṅghanaṁ sṛiṅgam parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūryamayam ekancha śailasyāsya samucchṛitam | Anutpanneṣhu bhūteṣhu babhūva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ Viśvakarmeti viśrutaḥ | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | āsit trisīkharāḥ śailaḥ pravṛittās tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | kṛitvā 'bhavaḥ mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila saṁsthānaṁ saro vai sārva-medhikam | tataḥ pravṛittā Sarayūr ghora-nakravatī nadī | deva-gandharva-patagūḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | pravṛiṣanti na taṁ deśam pradīptam ira pūrvakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahāderābhipālitam | ityādi |* "When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Trisṛiṅga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of lapis lazuli. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient Agnihotra sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandharvas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva," etc.

In regard to the story of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5 ff., the story from the Nirukta in p. 9, above, and the Satap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 14.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena ha etena Viśvakarmā Bhāuvanaḥ iṣe | teneshṭvā 'tyatiśkṛhat sarvāṇi bhūtāni idam sarvam abhavat | atitiśkṛhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idam sarvam bhavati yaḥ evam vidvān sarva-medhena yajate yo vā etad evam veda | 15. Tam ha Kāśyapo yājyānchakāra | tad api Bhūmīḥ ślokaṁ jagau | "na mā martyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhāuvana mandah ānta | upamankṣhyati syā sālī-asya madhye mṛishasā to sangarah Kāśyapāya" iti |* "With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the Sarva-medha ('universal sacrifice'), or he who thus knows this. 15. Kāśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the Earth recited a verse:<sup>117</sup> 'No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kāśyapa is vain.'

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter "became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds." Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 131 and 133, pp. 376 and 377; and Mahābhārata, Śāntip. 241, quoted in a note to p. 372, vol. v., of this work. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmā-

<sup>117</sup> The commentator observes on this: *Aman cha Viśvōlarmā bhūmīm dātum iṣeṣa tatra cha kule Bhūmīr āpi imam ślokaṁ gītavati | tvam tu mandah mandamātur janah ānta babhūvitha yataḥ ity arthah | upa-sabdō m-sabdasya nṛthe | yad eha atakyam pratyūñite mandah ity abhiprāyah |* "Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him, and at that time the Earth also sang this verse. Thou wast 'dull,' dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *m*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish." Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, v. 10209 (in the first vol. of this work, p. 461), where the earth is said to have been given to Kāśyapa by Parasurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid* p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmana, and to have in consequence abandoned her from. Kāśyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).



yaṇa and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, or Bhuvana, and therefore not eternal. It is to be noted, however, that the Satap. Br. speaks of this Viśvakarman as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

In the next passage<sup>118</sup> Mahādeva is represented as visiting Kuvera on Mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divinity of Rāma :

Rām. (ed. Gorresio) v. 89, 6 ff.—*Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokāndam īśvaraḥ prabhuḥ | tataḥ sabhāyāṁ devasya rājno Vaiśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyakṣa-sabhāṁ devaḥ prāpto hi Vṛishhabha-dhvajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṇaiś cha bahubhir vṛitaḥ | avatīrya vṛishāt tūrṇam mahitāḥ śūla-dhṛig vibhuḥ | gires tasya mahātejaḥ pravishṭas tu sabhāṁ Haraḥ | Riddhyā sahāya-yuktas cha tathā Vaiśravaṇaḥ svayam | anyonyāṁ tau samālingya upaviṣṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyāṁ tatra tau devau te cha devaḥ yathākramam | upaviṣṭāḥ gaṇās chaiva Yakṣasḥ cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | akṣa-dyūtaṁ tatas tābhyāṁ pravṛittau samanantaram | etasminn antare tatra Rākṣasendraṁ Vibhīṣhaṇam | dṛiṣṭvā Paulastyaṁ āyantaṁ Sivaḥ prāha dhanesvaram | ayaṁ Vibhīṣhaṇaḥ praptaḥ śaraṇam tava pārthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto viro Rākṣasendra-vimānitaḥ | ityādi |*

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then 'o the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, being received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (Kailāsa, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravaṇa himself, with Riddhi (his wife),<sup>119</sup> and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods with the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yakshas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rākṣasa Vibhīṣhaṇa, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'This, O king, is the hero Vibhīṣhaṇa, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rākṣasas (Rāvaṇa),' etc., etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhīṣhaṇa arrives, and bows down before

<sup>118</sup> This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devanāgarī recension which corresponds to it—viz. vi. 17, 1, ff.

<sup>119</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. Riddhi, and the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana-parvan, 675, and 7637, as well as the Harivaṁśa, 7167, 7739, there referred to.

the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rākshasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Siva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Tam dhyāyamānam bhagavān voācha prabhur avyayaḥ | uttiṣṭhoṭtiṣṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāsvatam | . . . .* 39. *Tasmād uttiṣṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhūm avyayam | ādhārām sarvabhūtānām śāsvatām niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānam cha gatir gatimatām varaḥ | kṛtsnasya jagato mūlam tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam |* "The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrolled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).'" Vibhishana then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>120</sup> In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:— iii. 30, 27 (ed. Bomb.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirṅgaḡaḡaḥ Svelāranye purā 'ndhakaḡaḥ |* "[The Rākshasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was] formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta forest." (Compare A. V. xi 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 336, where Rudra is called the slayer of Ardhaka.) iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): *Yathā kruddhanya Rudrasya Tripuraḡ vai vijigryushaḡ |* "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): "The Rākshasa trembled when smitten by Lakshmana's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇāhataḡ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram*). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. (Gorr. = Bombay ed. vi. 94, 35). *Hatair āsvaiḡ padūtaiḡ cha tad babhūva raṇājiram | ākrīḡaḡaḡ iva Rudrasya kruddhanya nighnataḡ paśūn |* "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpam bhagnasyorasi muḡḡinā | Īsvareḡābhīpannasya rūpam Paśupater iva |* "The appearance of Kumbha when shattered on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (Siva) when overcome by Īśvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Īsvareṇa pralaya-kūlena hetunū abhīpannasya lohān abhīrastaṡya Paśupateḡ Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam babhūva ity arthaḡ |* The Bomb. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *babhau Rudrābhīpannasya yathā rūpam Gavāmpateḡ |* which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the lord of rays (the sun), overcome by Rudra" (*Rudreṇa abhīpannasya abhībhūṡasya Gavāmpateḡ Sūryasya iva*). It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyaṇa published by Gorresio, had not understood the word Gavāmpatī (lord of cows or rays) as designating the sun, when he took it for the equivalent of Paśupati. Īśvara and Paśupati are both names of Rudra; and he could not be assailed by himself. Gavāmpatī occurs in the hymn to the Sun in the Mahābhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v.), as one of the numerous names or epithets of the Sun.

From the passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata and Brāhmaṇas in p. 284, and pp. 200 and 202, note, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 288–291, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Dakṣa's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vāyu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff. = pp. 120 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed., vol. i.).

This story is told, perhaps in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel and Bombay = 68, 7 ff. Gorresio):

*Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmuniṃ | śrūyatām asya dhanuṣo yad-artham iha tiṣṭhati | Devarātaḥ iti khyāto Nimeḥ śhaṣṭho (jyeshṭho, Bomb. ed.) mahīpatiḥ | nyāso 'yaṃ tasya bhagavan haṣte datto mahātmanaḥ | Dakṣa-yajña-badhe pūrvaṃ dhanur āyama vīryavān | vidhvasya tridāśān Rudraḥ salilam idam abravīt | "yasmād bhūgārthino"<sup>121</sup> bhūgūn nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāṅgāni [= śīrāṃsi, Comm. in Bomb. ed.] mahārhaṇi dhanuṣā śatayāmi vaḥ | tato vimanasāḥ sarve devāḥ vai muni-pungava | prāsādayanta devasāṃ teshāṃ prito 'bhavad Bhavaḥ | pritaśchūpi dadau teshāṃ tāny angāni mahaujasām | dhanuṣā yāni yāny āsan sūtilāni mahātmanā | tad etad deva-devasya dhanu-ratnam mahātmanaḥ | nyāsa-bhūtaṃ tadā nyastaṃ asmākaṃ pūrvake vibho |*<sup>122</sup>

"Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: 'Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: "Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your most precious heads with my bow." Then all the deities, being dis-

<sup>121</sup> *Śviṣṭakṛid-ādī-yajña-bhūgārthino mama* | "To me who desired a share in the Śviṣṭakṛid, etc., offering."—Comm.

<sup>122</sup> This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxviii. 13): *Tiṣṭhaty adyāpi bhūgavam kṛto 'smākaṃ supujitam* | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

tressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.' ”

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.<sup>123</sup>

The same story is told in the Sauptika-parvan, vv. 786–808, and in greater detail in the Sānti-parvan, of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of Jvara, Fever), Umā, Siva's wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, inquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daksha's horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: *Surair eva mahābhāge pūrvam etad anusūthitam | yajneshu sarveshu mama na bhūgaḥ upakalpitaḥ | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgena varavarṇini | na me surāḥ prayachchanti bhūgaṁ yajnasya dharmataḥ*<sup>124</sup> |

<sup>123</sup> This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmāyana:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr. = Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): *Taṁ drishṭvā tejasā yuktān vivyathur vana-devatāḥ | Dakṣasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatāstram Pinākinam* | “Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinākin (Sīva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Dakṣa.” Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kāman paśum Rudraṁ kruddhām Dakṣa-kratau yathā* | “Like the incensed Rudra who sought to slay the victim at the sacrifice of Dakṣa.” (The Bomb. ed. iii. 65, 2, has a quite different reading: *Dagdhu-kāmaṁ jagat sarvaṁ yugānte cha yathā Haraṁ* | “Like Hara [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.”) And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato vishphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān eva sankruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-jighāmsayā* | “Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice.” Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyana. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: *Sa taish parivṛito ghoraiḥ rākṣasair nṛi-varātmajaiḥ | Mahādevaḥ pūtri-vane gaṇaiḥ pārśva-gatair iva* | “This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rākṣasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery.” (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: *Tūkṣhṇ iva Mahādevo vṛtāḥ pārishadām gaṇaiḥ*.) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Sīva is called the lord of demons (*griham Bhūtapater iva*).

<sup>124</sup> The same words nearly are put into the mouth of Mahādeva in the Vāyupurāṇa. See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i., p. 126, of Dr. Hall's ed.

"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully (*dharmataḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Śiva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Śiva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born, Jvara (fever), which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Śiva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato 'hi surāḥ sarve bhūgaṃ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Śiva is propitiated, and assents to Brahmā's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmanā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpīte | bhagavantaṃ tathety āha . . . parāṇcha prītim agamaḥ utmayāṃścha Pināka-dhṛik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgaṃ yathoktam Brahmanā Bhavaḥ*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Dakṣha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himalaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhichi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tān dṛiṣṭvā manyuṇā "viśto Dadhichir vākyāṃ abravīt | "nūyāṃ yajno na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijjate | badha-bandham prapannāḥ vai kinnu kālasya paryayaḥ | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vimāśam paryupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoraṃ na budhyanti mahādhvare"* | *Ity ukto sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhyāna-chakrahūḥ | sa paśyati Mādādevaṃ devīncha vara-dām kubhām | Nāradaṃcha mahātmānaṃ tasyāḥ devyūḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramaṃ lebhe iti nischītya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve yenośo na nimantritaḥ*<sup>125</sup> | *tasmād deśād apākramya Dadhichir vākyam abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchcheiva pūjyānānehāpy apūjanāt | nri-ghātaka-samam pāpāṃ śasvat prapnoti mānavaḥ*<sup>126</sup> | *anritaṃ nokta-pūrvam me na cha*

<sup>125</sup> A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.

<sup>126</sup> The account of Dakṣha's sacrifice given in the Vāyu-purāṇa, and translated by Prof. Wilson, V.P. (vol. i., pp. 122 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.), has a good many lines which correspond nearly with some in this passage of the Mahābhārata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.

*egkshyo kadachana | devatānām rishinām cha madhye satyam bravimya aham |  
agatam Pasubhartāraṁ sraṣṭāraṁ jagataḥ patim | adhware yajna-bhok-  
tāraṁ sarveshām paśyata prabhum | Dakṣhaḥ uvācha | Santi no bahavo  
Rudrāḥ śula-hastāḥ kapardīnāḥ | śkūdaśa-śthāna-gatāḥ nūhaṁ vedmī Ma-  
heśvaram*<sup>127</sup> | *Dadhīchiḥ uvācha | sarveshām eva mantrō 'yaṁ yonāsau na  
nimantritāḥ*<sup>128</sup> | *yathā 'ham S'ankarād ūrdhvaṁ nānyam paśyāmi dawa-  
tam | tathā Dakṣasya vipulō yajno 'yaṁ na bhaviṣhyati | Dakṣhaḥ uvācha |  
etan makheśāya suvarṇa-pūtre haviḥ samastāṁ vidhi-mantra pūtam | Viś-  
ṇor nayāmy apratimasya*<sup>129</sup> | *bhāgam prabhur vibhūḥ chāhavanīya eśhaḥ |  
Devy uvācha | kim nāma dūnāṁ viśhamaṁ tapo rā kuryām ahaṁ yena  
patir namādya | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo ardhham tathā bhā-  
gam aitho tritīyam | eiam bruvānām bhagavān eva-patnīm prahṛuṣṭa-  
rūpaḥ kṣubdhitām uvācha | na vetaḥ mām devi kṛvōdarūṅgi kim nāma yuk-  
tāṁ vachanam makheśo | ahaṁ vyānūmi viśāla-netre dhyānena hīnāḥ na  
vidanty asantah | tavādya mohena cha sendra-dēvāḥ lokāḥ trayāḥ sarvataḥ  
eva madhāḥ | mām adhware śaṁsītūrāḥ stuvanti rathantāraṁ sāma-gās  
ohopaganti | mām brāhmanāḥ biśhma-vido yajante mamādhiaryavaḥ kalpa-  
yante cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | suprakṛito 'pi puruṣo sarvaḥ strī-  
janasaṁsadi | stauti garvāyate chāpi evam ātmānam na saṁśayaḥ |  
Bhagavān uvācha | nātmānaṁ staumi dereśi paśya me tanu-madhyame |  
yaṁ sraṣṭhyāmi tarārohe yugārthe vara-īrṇini |*

"Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake:  
'This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is  
not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of  
destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through  
delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not  
that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.' Having so spoken,  
this great devotee beheld with the eye of contemplation: he sees  
Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to  
her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi,  
versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted  
a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued

<sup>127</sup> A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vāyu Purāṇa

<sup>128</sup> The corresponding line runs thus in the Vāyu Purāṇa *Sarveshām eka-mantrō  
'yaṁ yeno na nimantritāḥ*, which Prof. Wilson thus renders "The invocation that  
is not addressed to Śiva is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons"

<sup>129</sup> Instead of *bhāgam*, etc., the Vāyu Purāṇa reads *sarvam prabhor vibhor hy āha-  
vaniya-nityam*.

forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus: 'By worshipping that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold Paśubhartṛi (Śiva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.' Daksha replied: 'We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair, who occupy eleven places.<sup>130</sup> I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhichi answered: 'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Śankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daksha shall not be prosperous.' Daksha spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Viṣṇu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Viṣṇu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'<sup>131</sup> Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, O large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of

<sup>130</sup> Compare the phrase *ekādaśūtmaka* above, p. 367.

<sup>131</sup> Prof. Wilson (p. 124 f) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhicha and Daksha, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daksha, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarveshva eva hi yajneshu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitah | na mantīṅ bhāryayā sārđhaṁ Śaṅkarasyeti neshyate*). Dadhicha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (*sa stūyate sahasrāmśuḥ śmagādhvaryu-hotribhish | paśyasmān Vistakarmāṇān Rudraṁ mūrta-trayimayam*). Daksha replies that the twelve Ādityas receive special oblations, that they are all the suns, and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye ete dādaśādityūḥ Āditya-yajna-bhāgmaḥ | sarve suryāḥ it i jneyāḥ na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam ukte ts munayah sanāyātāḥ didrikshavah | vādham ity abruvan Dakṣaṁ tasya sūhṛyya-kārinah*). These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daksha's neglect of Śiva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc., etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshipers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (*brahma*), adore me, and Adhvaryu (i.e. Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.'<sup>132</sup> Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.'" Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daksha's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly inquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Virabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god (*varaṁ krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānaṁ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daksha sings the praises of Maheśvara.<sup>133</sup> The latter then appears, and assents to Daksha's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless (vv. 10338 ff.). Daksha then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2-7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata, and some interesting illustrations of the hostility between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas, or between the former and the more orthodox adherents of the Vedas, which, not-

<sup>132</sup> The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65 =p. 128 of Dr. Hall's ed. vol. i.) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhvare iṁśaitāraḥ stuvanti rathantare sāma gūyanti geyam | abrahmaṇe brahma-satre yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpayante cha bhūgam* | "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sāma song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the adhvaryus divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed "without Brahmans." But what are we to make of the word "advharyu"? Could it mean, in later times at least, anything else than the Brahmanical priest so called?

<sup>133</sup> In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nābhūyate tatra Viśvakarmā Mahēśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 368 f., and note 131, p. 376. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daksha had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again, or recapitulated.



withstanding the conciliation of the conflicting views introduced by the writer at the close of the story, no doubt had, and perhaps still has, a real existence in the minds of many of the sectaries. Satī, the wife of Siva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīm Dakṣaḥ upayame hy Ajāt-majāḥ | tasyām sasarja duhitṛiḥ śhoḍaśūmala-lochanāḥ | trayodaśādāḍ Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitṛibhyaḥ ekām yuktebhyo Bhavā-yaikām bhava-chhīde* | “Daksha, the son of Aja (the ‘unborn’—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. From her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united, *saṁyatebhyo militebhyo vā*, Comm.] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (Siva), the destroyer of existence.” Satī, however, bore no children to Siva. i. 04. *Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavaṁ devam anuvratā | ātmanaḥ sadṛiṣam putraṁ na lebhe guṇa-śilataḥ |*

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daksha. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatis. On the entrance of Daksha, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Virinchya (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daksha, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Siva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): *Prān nishanṇam Mṛidaṁ dṛiṣṭvā nāmṛiṣhaḥ tad-anū-dṛitaḥ | uvācha vāmaṁ chakshurbhṛyām abhivikṣhya dahann iva | śrūyatām brahmarshayo me saha-devāḥ sahāgnayaḥ | sādḥnām bruvato vṛittam nājnūnād na cha matsarāt | ayaṁ tu loka-pālānām yaśoghno nirapatrapaḥ | sādḥbhir ācharitaḥ panthāḥ yena stabdhena dūṣitaḥ | esha me śiṣhyatām prāpto yan me duhitur agrahit | pāṇim vipṛāgni-mukhataḥ sāvitṛyāḥ iva sādḥu-vat | gṛihitvā mṛiga-śāvāksyāḥ pāṇim markṭa-lochanaḥ | praty-utthānādbhivādārhe vāchā 'py akṛita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāśuchaye mūnino bhinna-setave | anichchann apy adām bālām sūdrāyevosattīm giram | pretāvāśeshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | aṣaty unmatta-vad nagno vyupta-keśo hasan rudan | chitā-bhasma-kṛita-snānaḥ preta-śrāṇ nrasthi-bhūṣaṇaḥ | śivopadeśo hy aśivo matto matta-janapriyaḥ | patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānām tṛmo-mātrātmakātmanām | tasmai unmāda-nāthāya naṣṭa-sauchaḥya durhṛide | dattā mayā vata sādḥvi chodite parameshṭhinā | vimindyavāṁ sa Gīriṣam apratipam avasthitam | Dakṣo 'thāpaḥ upa-*

*agryīṣya kruddhaḥ śaptam prācākrame | ayañ tu deva-yajane Indrapendrā-  
dībhīr Bhavaḥ | saha bhūgañ na labhatām devaṁ deva-gaṇādhamakḥ |*  
“Beholding Mṛiḍa (Śiva) previously seated, Dakṣha did not brook his  
want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if con-  
suming him, thus spake: ‘Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the gods  
and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, de-  
scribe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless  
being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the  
world,—he by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the  
good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inas-  
much as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmins and of fire,  
he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This  
monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed  
[daughter], has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom  
he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave  
my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher  
of barriers, like the word of the Veda<sup>134</sup> to a Sūdra. He roams about  
in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a  
madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in  
the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men’s [skulls],  
and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Śiva (auspicious)  
but in reality Aśiva (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the  
lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essen-  
tially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose  
purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the  
instigation of Brahmā.’<sup>135</sup> Having thus reviled Gṛiṣa (Śiva), who

<sup>134</sup> *Uśatīñ giram*, which the commentator explains *veda-lakṣhanām giram*. It  
occurs also elsewhere in this same Puraṇa, as in m. 16, 13, where the Comm. renders  
it by *kamanīyām*, “to be loved.” See Bohtlingk and Roth, vol. v., p. 1204, s.e.

<sup>135</sup> The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this  
abuse.—*Vāstavaḥ tv ayam arthah | luptāḥ kṛiyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpatvāt |  
ataḥ eva nāsti śuclhr yasmat | amānina abhivina-setave it i cha chhedah | tasya pareno-  
varasya madyā mānushī kanyā kathañ yogyā syād it i lajādina dātum aniehhann api  
tat-sambandha-lobhena dattavān | ‘sūdrāyeṣu’ anarhatva-mūte dṛiṣṭānto na hinatve  
pūrvāpara-eva-vachana-virodhāpatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kaśchit sūdrāya  
vedam artha-lobhena dadāti | ‘preṭivāśeṣu’ ityādī sarvañ vidambana-mātram it i  
evayam eva āha ‘ummatta-vaḍ’ it i | anyathā ‘ummattah’ ity eva avakṣhyat | ‘aśivah’  
nāsti iṣvo yasmat | amattah | amatta-ṣana-priyaḥ | it i chhedah | ‘patih pramatha-  
bhūtānām’ it i bhakta-vātsalyam āha | tūmasāñ api doṣham epanīya-pāti it i | nashṭānām  
api śauclheñ suddhīr yasmat | dushṭeṣu apy ete mayā anukampyāḥ it i hṛm mano yasya*

did not oppose him, Dakṣa having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (Siva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Viṣṇu), and others.'" Having delivered his malediction, Dakṣa departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmins who took his part, by Nandīśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

21 ff.—*Yaḥ etam martyam uddīśya bhagavatī apratidruhi | druhyaty ajnaḥ prithag-dṛiṣṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | griheṣu kṛta-dharmeshu saktō grāmya-sukhechchayā | karma-tantram vitanutā*<sup>136</sup> *veda-vāda-vipanna-dhīḥ | buddhyā parābhidyāyinyā viṣṇūtātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kāmāḥ so 'stu nitarām Dakṣo vata-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām karmamayyām asau jadaḥ | saṁsaranō iha ye chāmum anu S'arvāvamāninam | girāḥ śrutāyāḥ puṣhpinyāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūriṇā | mathnā chonmathitātmanāḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dvīḣaḥ | sarva-bhaktāḥ dvijāḥ vṛittyai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmāḥ yūchakāḥ vicharantu iha |* "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Dakṣa), and considering [Siva] as distinct [from the supreme

*sa durhṛit tasmai | 'vata' iti harshe | Brahmano vūkyā [?] lajjā-bhayāndikam parityajya dattā ity arthaḥ |* "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of *mānīne* and *bhinna-setave*, the division of words may also be *amānīne*, *abhinna-setave*, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words 'as to a S'ūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a S'ūdra.' The words 'in cemeteries,' etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says 'like a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' *Adīva*, inauspicious, means he than whom none is more auspicious. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean 'not insane,' 'beloved by the not-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashta-sauckhya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhṛit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that 'even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.' *Vata* intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter: ' such is the sense."

<sup>136</sup> This is Burnouf's reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

spirit],—hates the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth. Devoted to domestic life, in which frauds are prevalent,<sup>127</sup> let him, from a desire of vulgar pleasures, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.<sup>128</sup> Forgetting the nature of soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daksha, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Śarva (Śiva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Śiva), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words<sup>129</sup> of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!”

The wrath of Bhṛigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse :

27 ff.—*Tasyaivaṁ dadataḥ śāpaṁ bruvū devya-lulāya vaḥ | Bhṛiguḥ pratyasryjach chhāpam brahma-danḍam duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharāḥ ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pūshandīnas te bhavantu sachehkhāstra-paripanthīnaḥ | nashṭa-śauchāḥ mūḍha-āhīyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthī-dhārīnaḥ | viśantu Śiva-āṅkadhāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāśaram | brahma cha brāhma-nāmāś chaiva yad yūyam parinivṛtāḥ | setum vidhāraṇam puṁśum atāḥ pūshandam āśritāḥ | osha eva hi lokānām śivaḥ panthā sanātanaḥ | yam pūrve chānusaṁtasthur yat-pramāṇam Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramaṁ buddhaṁ satām varīma sanātanaṁ | vigarhya yāta pūshandam daivaṁ vo*

<sup>127</sup> The words so rendered, *grīheṣu kṛta-dharmeshu*, occur three in this Purāṇa (see Bohtlingk and Roth s v *kṛta-dharma*), vii, in iii 30, 10, in iv. 25, 6, and in the verse before us. In his note on iii. 30, 10 (verse 9 in the Bombay edition) the commentator explains the word *kṛta-dharmeshu* as meaning houses “in which frauds, practices such as roguery in regard to money, etc., prevail” (*kṛtāḥ vitta-sāthyāś-bahulāḥ dharmāḥ yeshu*). In his remarks on the other passages he gives no explanation of the word. In his translation of iii 30, 10, M. Burnouf renders the term by “sa maison où dominant le mensonge [et la misère,” *dukkha-tantrishu*], in the verse before us by “attaché dans les maisons, à des vils devoirs”, and similarly in iv. 25, 6, by “au milieu des devoirs vulgaires d’un maître de maison.”

<sup>128</sup> This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Śaivas, that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated Scriptures of their own country.

<sup>129</sup> Compare the Bhagavad Gītā ii. 42 ff., quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 31 f.

*yatra bhūta-rāṭ* | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the veda (*brahma*) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious (*śiva*) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārdana (Viṣṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda (*brahma*), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.'"

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while Daksha and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Viṣṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daksha being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Sati presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being slighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Śiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajna-ghna-ghnena yajushā dakṣhiṇāgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Śiva's followers to flight. Śiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Sati (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Śiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. *Rurujur yajna-pātrāṇi tathāike 'gnin anāṭayan* |

*kundeshv amūtrayan kechid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanā munin  
 aṅgo eke patnīr atarjayan | apare jagrihur devān pratyāsaṇṇān palāyitān |  
 . . . 19. juhvataḥ sruva-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor  
 lalunchē sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān  
 pātitasya rushā bhuvi | ujjahāra sadāḥstho 'kṣṇā yaḥ śapantam asu-  
 suchat | Pūshnaś chāpātayaḍ dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyamāṇs  
 garimaṇi<sup>140</sup> yo 'hasat darśayan dataḥ | 15. "Some broke the sacrificial  
 vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds,  
 others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others as-  
 sailed the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods  
 who were near, and those who had fled. . . . 19. The divine Bhava  
 (Śiva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations  
 with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, show-  
 ing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his wrath  
 he had felled to the ground, and who, when in the assembly, had made  
 a sign to [Dakṣa when] cursing [Śiva]. He moreover knocked  
 out the teeth of Pūshan<sup>141</sup> (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's), who  
 (Pūshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was  
 being cursed." Tryambaka (Śiva, or Virabhadra, according to the  
 commentator) then cuts off the head of Dakṣa, but not without some  
 difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā),  
 who, with Viṣṇu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises  
 the gods to propitiate Śiva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from  
 a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. *athāpi yūyaṁ kṛta-kilviṣhāḥ Bhavaṁ  
 yo barhiṣho bhāga-bhājam parāduḥ*). The deities, headed by Aja  
 (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Śiva "bear-  
 ing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an  
 antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an even-  
 ing cloud" (v. 35. *lingancha tūpasābhīṣṭam bhasma-danḍa-jaṭājīnam |  
 angena sandhyā-bhira-ruchā chandra-lekhāncha bibhratam*). Brahmā ad-  
 dresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Śakti and Śiva,  
 who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who,  
 in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Śakti and Śiva, who are  
 consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them" (vv.*

<sup>140</sup> *Garimaṇi gurūtare Rudre* | Comm.

<sup>141</sup> See Taitt. Saṁhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3, and other texts quoted above, pp. 200 ff., for the older story.

41 f. *jāne tvām īśaṁ viśvasya jagato yoni-vijayoḥ | Śakteḥ Śivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etaḥ Chhivā-Saktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvaṁ srijasi pāsy atsi kṛdān ūrṇa-paṭo yathā*). (A similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Viṣṇu in section 7.) Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him, who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Dakṣha, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (v. 49. *Na yatra bhāgaṁ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuyajvinaḥ*). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Dakṣha to have a goat's-faced head, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. (vv. 3 ff.) Dakṣha, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Śiva (vv. 8 ff.). The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Viṣṇu on three platters (v. 17. *Vaiṣṇavaṁ yajna-santatyai trikapālaṁ dvijottamāḥ | puroḍaśaṁ niravapan vira-saṁsarga-śuddhaye*). Hari (Viṣṇu) being meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and Śiva (*Tryakṣha*); is lauded successively by Dakṣha, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc., etc. (vv. 26 ff.), and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Dakṣha and Mahādeva, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations, though in reality one in their essence :

V. 50. *Srī-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Sarvaś cha jagataḥ kārāṇam param | ātmesvaraḥ upadrashṭā svayamāndrig aviśeṣaṇaḥ | 51. ātma-māyāṁ samāviśya so 'ham guṇamayīṁ dvija | srijan rakshan haran viśvaṁ dadhre saṁjnāṁ kriyochitūṁ | 52. tasmin Brahmany advītye kevale paramātmāni | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenājño 'nupaśyati | 53. yathā pumān na svūṅgeshu śiraḥ-pāny-ādīṣhu kvachit | pāraya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhūteshu mat-paraḥ | 54. Trayāṇāṁ eka-bhāvānāṁ yo na paśyati vai bhīdām | sarva-bhūtātmanāṁ Brahman sa śāntim adhigacchati | 50. "I am Brahmā and Sarva (Śiva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),*

devoid of attributes. 51. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the [three] Guṇas (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. 52. In that one and only Brahmā, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. 53. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]. 54. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence, and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity."

Dakṣa, after adoring Viṣṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice (vv. 55 f.). Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (v. 58. *evaṁ Dākṣhāyaṇī htvā Satī pūrva-kalevaram | jajñe Himavataḥ kṣetre Menāyām iti śūkruma*).<sup>142</sup>

The Śaiva compiler of the Linga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaiṣṇava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Viṣṇu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

<sup>142</sup> The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff. *Evam-prakāśo Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryām avindata | Dakṣa-kopāchcha tutyāja sū Satī evaṁ kalevaram | Himavad-āruṣṭā sū 'bhūd Menāyām dīya-sattama | upayame punaś chomām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ |* "Rudra, being of the character thus described (i.e. one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā—see above, pp. 339 ff.) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Dakṣa. She then became the daughter of Himavat and Menā, and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse]." In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Dakṣa, but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated (as is also Agni) among the Munis to whom Dakṣa's daughters were wedded. *Tābhyāḥ śiśṭāḥ kanyāsyāḥ ekādāśa sūlochanāḥ | Khyātāḥ Saty aṭha Sambhūtā Smṛitā Kṣamā tathā | Samatā chānuṣūyā cha Ūjā Svadhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛguḥ Bhavaḥ Marīchiḥ cha tathā chavāṅgrūḥ munāḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ charakḥ-varas tathā | Atriḥ Vasiṣṭho Vahnīḥ cha Pitarāḥ cha yathā-kramam | Khyāty-ādyāḥ jagrihuk kanyāḥ munayo muni-sattama |* "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Dakṣa) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyatī, Satī, Sambhūtī, Smṛitī, Pṛitī, Kṣamā, Sannatī, Anusūyā, Ūjā, Svadhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛgu, Bhava, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Vahnī (i.e. Agni or Fire), and the Pitarā,—these munis in order married Khyatī and the other maidens."



Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva :

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5-52.—*Pitāmahaḥ uvācha | Pradhānaṁ lingam  
ākhyātāṁ lingī cha paramesvaraḥ | rakshārtham ambudhau mahyaṁ  
Viṣṇos tv āsīt surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharshi-  
bhiḥ | sthitikale tadā pūrṇe tataḥ pratyūhrīte tathā | chatur-yuga-  
sahasrānte satyalokaṁ gate surāḥ | vinā "dhipatyāṁ samatāṁ gate 'nte  
Brahmaṇo mama | śuśhke cha sthāvare sarve tv anāvṛiṣṭyā cha sarvaśaḥ |  
paśavo mānushāḥ vrikṣhāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | gandharvādyaḥ kra-  
menaiva nirdagdāḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekūrṇave mahāghore tamo-bhūte  
samantataḥ | pūṣṭe (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ |  
sahasra-śīrṣhāḥ viśvātmā sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarva-  
jñāḥ sarva-deva-bhavadbhavaḥ | Hiraṇyagarbho rajasā tamasā S'ankaraḥ  
śayam | suttvena sarvago Viṣṇuḥ sarvātmate Maheśvaraḥ | kālātmā  
kāla-nābhus tu śuklāḥ kṛiṣṇas tu nirguṇaḥ | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ  
sarvātmā sadasanmayuḥ | tathā bhūtam ahaṁ dṛiṣṭvā śayānam panka-  
jekshaṇam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avocheṁ amarshitaḥ | kaś traṁ  
vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadā hasta-prahāreṇa tivreṇa  
sa dṛidhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śayanāt samūsināḥ kṣhaṇaṁ vaśi |  
dadarsa nidrā-viklinnaṁ nīrajāmala-lochanaḥ | mām agre samāsthitam  
bhūsa'dhyāśito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām  
madhuraṁ sakṛit | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahādyaute | tasya  
tad vachanaṁ śrutvā smita-pūrvam surarshabhāḥ | rajasā viddha-vairas  
cha tam avochaṁ Janārdanam | bhūśhase vatsa vatseti sarga-saṁhāra-  
kāraṇam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitaṁ kṛitvā guruḥ śiṣhyam ivānagha | kartā-  
raṁ jagatām sūkṣhāt prakṛitescha pravartakam | sanātanam ajaṁ Viṣ-  
ṇuṁ Tīrnekīm viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṁ vidhātāraṁ dhātāram  
pankajekshaṇam | kimartham bhūśhase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram |  
so 'pi mām āha jagatām kartā 'ham iti lokaya | bhartā hartā bhavān  
angād avatīrṇo mamāvayāt | vismrīto 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam  
'anāmayaṁ | puruṣham paramātmānam puru-ḥtam puruṣhṭutam | Viṣ-  
ṇum achyutam iśānaṁ viśvasya prabhavadbhavam | tavūparādho nāsty atra  
mama māyā-kṛitāṁ tv idam | śṛiṇu satyaṁ chaturvaktṛa sarva-deveśvaro  
hy aham | kartā notā cha hartā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva  
param Brahma param tattvam pitāmaha | 'uham eva param jyotiḥ param-  
ātmā tv ahaṁ vibhuḥ | yad yad dṛiṣṭam śrutam sarvaṁ jagaty asminś  
charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktṛa sarvam manmayam ity aha |*

mayā prīṣṭam purā vyaktam caturviṃśatikam evayam | nityantāḥ hy  
 āṇavo baddhāḥ prīṣṭāḥ krodhodbhavādayaḥ | prasādaḥ hi bhavān anḍāny  
 anekānīha līlayā | prīṣṭā bulldhir mayā tasyām ahankāras tridhā tataḥ |  
 tanmātra-panchakam tasmād mano dehendriyāṇi cha | akāsādini bhūtāni  
 bhautikāni cha līlayā | ity uktavati tasmimś cha mayi chāpi vacas tathā |  
 āvayos chādbhavad yuddham sughoram romaharshaṇam | pralayārṇava-  
 madhye tu rajasā baddha-vairayoh | etasminn antare lingam abhavach  
 chāvayoh purāḥ | vivāda-samanārthaḥ hi prabodhārthaḥ tathā'vayoh |  
 jvalā-mūla-sahasrādhyam kālānala-śatopamam | kṣaya-vṛddhi-vinirmuk-  
 tam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdeśyam avyaktam viśva-  
 sambhavam | tasya jvalā-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam  
 prāha mām atra parīkṣhāvo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamishyāmy anala-  
 stambhanyānupamasya cha | bhavan ūrdhvam prayatnena gantum arhasi  
 (sic) satvaram | evam vyākṛitya viśvātmā svārūpam akarot tadā | vārūham  
 aham apy ūsu haṁsatvam prāptavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhur  
 haṁsaḥ haṁso virūḍḍh itī | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād mām haṁsaḥ sa  
 bhaviṣhyati | suśreto hy analūkṣhaḥ cha viśratuḥ pakṣha-saṁyutaḥ | mano-  
 'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chodhkvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi viśvātmā  
 nīlānjana-chayopamam | dāsa-yojana-vistīrṇam śata-yojanam āyatam |  
 Meru-pareata-varṣmāṇaṁ gaura-tīkṣhṇāgra-dakṣiṇam | kālāditya-samā-  
 bhāsaṁ dīrgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | krasva-pādam vichitrāṅgaṁ jaitram  
 dridham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gataḥ adhaḥ |  
 evam varsha-sahasram tu tvaram Viṣṇuḥ adho gataḥ | nāpasyad alpam  
 apy asya mūlam lingasya sūkaraḥ | tūvat kūlam gato hy ūrdhvam aham  
 apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyāntam jñātum icchayā |  
 śrūnto hy adṛṣṭvā tasyāntam ahankārād<sup>143</sup> adho gataḥ | tathaiḥ bha-  
 gavān Viṣṇuḥ śrāntaḥ saṁtrasta-lochanāḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūṇam  
 utthitāḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samāgato mayā sārḍham prāṇipatiya mahā-  
 manāḥ<sup>144</sup> | māyayā mohitāḥ Sāmbhoḥ tathā saṁvigna-mānasaḥ | prīṣṭha-  
 tāḥ pūrsvatas chaiva chāgrataḥ paramēśvaram | prāṇipatiya mayā sārḍh-  
 am sasmāra kim idam tv itī | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-  
 lakṣhaṇaḥ | om om itī sūra-śreṣṭhāḥ svayaktāḥ pluta-lakṣhaṇāḥ | kim idam  
 tv itī sanchintya mayā tiṣṭhan mahāsvanam | lingasya dakṣiṇe bhāgo  
 tadā 'paśyat sandānam | ādyaṁ varṇam a-kāram tu u-kāram chottare  
 tataḥ | ma-kāram madhytas chaiva nādāntam tasya chom itī |

<sup>143</sup> In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīkṣhā*, the reading is *aham kālād*, which seems a preferable reading.

<sup>144</sup> *Bhayād muhuḥ*—reading in the *Mataparīkṣhā*.

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the Linga, and Parameśvara is called Lingin'<sup>145</sup> (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishṇu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimūnika<sup>146</sup> creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,<sup>147</sup> and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,<sup>148</sup> and all immovable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps<sup>149</sup> upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of the existence of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) Śankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Vishṇu, and in his universality Mahāśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre,<sup>150</sup> white, black, free from the three qualities, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the universal soul, having the essence both of entity and non-entity. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused

<sup>145</sup> *Lingādhishtānam* | Comm.

<sup>146</sup> *Vaimūnikas* sarge deva-sarge | Comm.

<sup>147</sup> "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vāyu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same work, p. 632, and note 7 (=pp. 227 ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.).

<sup>148</sup> *Lit.* "the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion."

<sup>149</sup> The reading of the Bombay text is hero *gushṭe*; but some such word as *śete*, "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.

<sup>150</sup> *Kālanātha* is the term in the original. Perhaps the proper reading may be Kālanātha, "the lord of time," which occurs in the Mahābhārata, Ś'antip. 10368. See Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.*

by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome, welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, O deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, O sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words 'child, child,' to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛiti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,<sup>181</sup> Virinchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Puruṣa, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, O four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is none equal to me, all-pervading. I, even I, O Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahma, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit, all-pervading. Whatever thing, movable or immovable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, O four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath<sup>182</sup> (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacency thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold ahankāra: from it the five tanmātras, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose

<sup>181</sup> Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

<sup>182</sup> See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.

in the sea of universal dissolution<sup>153</sup> between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, equal to a hundred final mundane conflagrations, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan.<sup>154</sup> Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.<sup>155</sup> Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of mundane destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Viṣṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the Linga. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, O destroyers of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, without seeing its end; and so, too, the divine Viṣṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Śiva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Parameśvara (Śiva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, O chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound "om, om," distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing

<sup>153</sup> See the commencement of this extract.

<sup>154</sup> In the 5th and 6th sections of the Śiva-purāṇa "it is explained in a puerile and inept manner why Brahmā took the form of a swan and Viṣṇu of a boar." —Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 683.

<sup>155</sup> See the first volume of this work, pp. 9 and 36.

with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the Linga; the first letter a-kāra, after it u-kāra, ma-kāra in the centre, and Om as the result of the sounds.'"

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word om and the other letters of the alphabet, etc., etc.

The eighteenth section of the same Purāṇa contains a hymn addressed by Vishṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original:

Linga Purāṇa, 19, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avasthāṁ gatvā punar Nārāyaṇaḥ svayam | prañipatya cha Viśveṣam prāha mandatarāṁ vaśi |* "āvayor deva-  
devaśa vivādam ati-sobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmād vivāda-samanāya  
nau" | *tanya tad-vachanaṁ śrūtvā punaḥ prāha Haro Hariḥ | prañipatya  
sthitam mūrḍhnā kṛitānjali-puṣṭam smayan | Śrī-mahādevaḥ uvācha | pra-  
laya-sthiti-sargūṇāṁ kartā tvaṁ dharanipate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viṣṇo  
pālayaitach charāccharam | tridhā bhinnō hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu-  
Bhavākhyayā | sarga-rakṣhā-laya-guṇair nishkaluḥ paramēśvaraḥ | sammo-  
haṁ tyaja bho Viṣṇo pālayainam Pitāmahaḥ | pādme bhaviṣhyati sutāḥ  
kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā drakṣhyasi mām chaivaṁ so 'pi drakṣhyati  
padma-jah | evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | tadā pra-  
bhṛiti lokeshu lingārchā supratishṭhitā | linga-vedī Mahādevī lingaṁ  
śakṣhād Maheśvaraḥ |* "The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his  
knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Śiva),  
spoke gently thus: 'Our dispute, O god of gods, has proved most auspi-  
cious,<sup>156</sup> since thou hast come hither to allay it.' Having heard these  
words, Hara (Śiva), smiling, again said to Hari (Viṣṇu), who stood  
making obeisance with his hands joined: 'Thou, lord of the earth, art  
the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the uni-

<sup>156</sup> I cannot render this sentence, as it stands, otherwise than by taking *vivādam* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *sobhanam* as meaning *udhayaḥ api samā-balatvāch chhodhamānam*, "brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants"; and supplies *śamaya*, "appease, or stop, it" (*ataḥ śamaya ity adhyūhāraḥ*).

verse]: my child, my child, Hari, Viṣṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a three-fold manner under the names of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Viṣṇu, thy delusion; cherish this Pītāmaha. He shall be thy son in tho Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprang from the lotus (Brahmā) shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the Linga has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the Linga is Mahādevī (Umā), and the Linga is the visible Maheśvara."

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the real origin of the Linga-worship.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 f., makes him of Viṣṇu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvāṇ śriṣṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekṣhāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānāḥ vīta-rāgāḥ vimatsarāḥ | teṣv evaṇ nirapekṣheṣu loka-śriṣṭau mahātmanāḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt mahākrodhas trailokyadāhana-kṣamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṇ trailokyam akhīlam mune | bhrukūṭi-kūṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-samaprabhaḥ | ardhā-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachanda 'ti-sarīravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dvidhā śrītvam puruṣatvaṇ tathā 'karot | bibheda puruṣatvaṇ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ śrītvāṇ cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ |* "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up tho three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and inflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into

a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white."<sup>157</sup>

In the same way the Harivaṅśa says (v. 43): *Tato 'srijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavam* | "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."

#### SECT. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.-iv. (pp. 299-355) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmaṇas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 355 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 176 f., 184 ff., 223-226, 230 ff., 240 f., 263, 266 ff., 278 ff., and 283-291), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, which will exhibit the modifications which the conception of this deity

<sup>157</sup> See Professor Wilson's notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The Ś'antiparvan of the Mahābhārata also speaks (vv. 13723 ff.) of Mahādeva, the three-eyed, and the great devotee, as having sprung from the forehead of Brahmā, of his coming to visit his father on the mountain Vajrayanta, and of his saluting him respectfully, falling at his feet, and being raised up by him with his left hand. Brahmā then proceeds to unfold to him the nature of Puruṣa. (*Attha tatrasatata tasya Chaturvaktrasya dhimataḥ | tatāṣa-prabhavaḥ putraḥ Ś'ivaḥ āgād yadrishhayā | ākāśena mahāyogī purā trinayanaḥ prabhūḥ | tataḥ khād nīpapatāu dharaṇīdhara-mūrdhani | agrataś chūḍbhavat prīto vavande chūpi pādayoḥ | tam pādayoḥ nīpatitām dṛishṭvā saavyena pūṇinā | utthāpāyāmasa tadā prabhur ekaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | uvācha chainam bhagavāṁś chiraśyugataṁ ātmajam.*)



undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rîg-veda (published, vol. i., 1st ed., in 1850, and 2nd ed. in 1866; and vol. ii. in 1854):

"We have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with Sîva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kapardḍin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Sîva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different signification—ono now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Sîva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kapardḍin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Sîva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus*: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Sîva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam*." <sup>156</sup>—(vol. i., pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

"Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes in any remarkable degree of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and

<sup>156</sup> Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i., chap. i., p. 140.

irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons;<sup>159</sup> and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the 'terrible Agni'; but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire."—(*Ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.)

"Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4). With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R. V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness, to identify him with the Rudra of the Purāṇas."—(vol. ii., pp. ix. f.)

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his *Indische Studien*, ii., 19–22 (published in 1853):

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 347 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Satarudriya (see above, p. 322 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam, Sāyaṇa*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno*

<sup>159</sup> See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.

'*tishṭhat*'), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmins<sup>160</sup>) are terrified by it, *yad vai no 'yaṁ na hīṁsyād iti* ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains *śata-rudriya* by *śānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.<sup>161</sup> In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Satarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*manyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwühlen*) of heaven and earth,<sup>162</sup> must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmīr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:<sup>163</sup> numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the

<sup>160</sup> "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

<sup>161</sup> "The Ārshādhyāya of the *Chārāyaṇīya* School of the Kāṭhaka also (ii. 17) says: *S'atarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-samanan*." 'The S'atarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods.'

<sup>162</sup> "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varāha*, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image" (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

<sup>163</sup> "In R.V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the S'atarudriya."

author of fertility, and giver of happiness;' <sup>164</sup> but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śiva*); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epithets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of *Śiva*).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the Satarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (*giriśa*, *giriśaya*, *giriśanta*, *giritra*), and those of *kapardin*, *vyūpta-keśa*, *ugra*, and *bhīma*, *bhishaj* and *śiva*, *śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (= *nīlakaṇṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikaṇṭha*, *hiraṇyabāhu* (of flame), *vilohita*, *śahasrākṣa* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial

<sup>164</sup> Wilson, Introd. to Trans. of R.V., vol. i., quoted above, p. 394.

victims), *śarva* and *bhava*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets<sup>165</sup> are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic *S'iva*, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.<sup>166</sup> But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as *Īśa* or *Mahādeva*, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic *S'iva*; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed); the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of *S'iva*."

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 318 f. (published in 1853); and are reprinted in the volume entitled "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," published by their author in 1873:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is *Vayū* (from the root *vā*, 'blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the *Maruts* or *Rudras*: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They drive spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth tremble and the mountains shake before them. They belong in *Indra's* train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of *Rudra*, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few.

<sup>165</sup> "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus *S'iva* owes his epithet *Tryambaka*, and his wife *Ambikā*, to *Rudra*; and, on the other hand, his epithet *Tripura*, and his wife *Kālī*, *Karālī*, to *Agni*," etc.

<sup>166</sup> "Hence he is also called *Kālāgnirudra*, as in the *Purāṇas*, and in the *Kālāgnirudra Upanishad*."

He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the 'ruler of men,' *kshayadvira*; <sup>167</sup> his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Rik, at least in the Atharvan and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the un-housed beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time, to propitiate him, he is addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connexion between the Vedic religion and the later Īva-worship. Īva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious'; not even in the Atharvan is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Īva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Īva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharvan shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3),<sup>9</sup> as lord (*isāna*) of this world, possessed of

<sup>167</sup> Compare the note on the sense of this word, above, p. 301 f.

divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might<sup>168</sup> (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,<sup>169</sup> mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 23, 11), wearing spirally-braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men (*nri-ghna*, iv. 3, 6).<sup>170</sup> His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*śiva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3; vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii.

<sup>168</sup> Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishnu and Indra above: see pp. 97 f. and generally sections i. and ii., chapter ii. above. And yet in R.V. ii. 39, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitri. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

<sup>169</sup> *Bhuvanaśya pitaram*. Compare Raghuvansa i., 1, where Parameśvara (Śiva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitaram*).

<sup>170</sup> In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruts, *are gohā nrihā vadho vo astu*: "Far be your kine-slaying, man-slaying bolt."

<sup>171</sup> In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.

29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages, and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishnu) as an agent in producing, or a representative of, the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. There are, however, few, if any, distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin"; and even the word *kapardin* ("with spirally-braided hair"), which at a later period became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R. V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 301, note 7). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely indicated, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency (as Professor Weber remarks, see above, p. 397), and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear



strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life, are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and vice versa; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṇu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R.V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression. Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with spirally-braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17-46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20,

21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, etc., etc. (vv. 18, 28).<sup>172</sup> Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Śatarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Śarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand, Bhava and Śarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Śarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).<sup>173</sup>

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Śarva is declared to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumāra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1), to whom the names of Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva, and Īśāna were successively

<sup>172</sup> In the same Veda, xxxix. 8, we have the following gods, or appellations of one god, specified, viz., Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugra-deva, etc. (*Agniṁ hṛidayena Aśaniṁ hṛidayāgreṇa Paśupatiṁ kṛitna-hṛidayena Bhavaṁ yaknā | Śarvaṁ matasābhyām Īśānaṁ manyunā Mahādevaṁ antahparivāyena Ugraṁ devaṁ vaniṣṭhūnā ityādi*).

<sup>173</sup> The Nirukta i. 16, as I have already remarked, p. 355, note 98, contains the first words of a text relating to Rudra which is given at length by the commentator Durga, and is cited and translated above. After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, this text appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer. As it is partially quoted in the Nirukta, this verse, though it does not appear whence it comes, must, unless interpolated, be of considerable antiquity.

given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 343 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 347 and 395 f.), appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 349), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya, which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rīg-veda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R.V. ii. 1, 6, p. 306; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 333 and 338; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 22) to identify the different deities with one another may have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads I have quoted are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahābhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Viṣṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. \* Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the

spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 321) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Pārvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,<sup>174</sup> is now his acknowledged consort.<sup>175</sup> In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Viṣṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the "Linga" as the great generative power.

I have (above, pp. 192 f.) quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which the Linga is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet "mahāśeṣa" in p. 191 f., which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the Linga is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 197 ff.:

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrdhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān nṛṇāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthāṇuḥ iti smṛitaḥ | . . . . v. 7516. Nityancha brahmacharyeṇa lingam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokāś cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanah | vighraham pūjayed yo vai linyaṁ vā pi mahātmanah | linga-pūjayitā nityam mahatīm śriyam āsnute | rishayas chāpi devāś cha gandharvāpsarasas tathā | lingam evārohayanti sma yat tad ūrdhvaṁ samasthitam | ityādi |*  
 "And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his Linga is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called Sthāṇu. . . . 7516. And when his Linga remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The worshipper of the Linga, who shall adore the image (*vighraha*), or the Linga, of the great [god], enjoys continually great prosperity. It is the Linga, raised up, which the rishis, gods,

<sup>174</sup> These passages will be quoted in the next section.

<sup>175</sup> It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the Oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī, which are found in the Rīg-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Śiva (under his different appellations of Bhava, Ś'arva, Rudra, and Mṛida)—viz. Bhavāṇī Ś'arvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛidāṇī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-Ś'arva-Rudra-Mṛida-himāranya-yava-yavana-mātulāhāryāṇām ānuk*). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī were never of any significance.

Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship." Compare with this extract verses 9616 f., 9625 and 9631 of the Droṇa-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of Siva's names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160 :

*Ūrdhva-retāḥ ūrdhva-lingaḥ ūrdhva-kāyī nabhaḥ-sikilāḥ* | v. 1191.  
*Lingādhyakṣaḥ surādhyakṣaḥ . . . . vījādhyakṣo vīja-kartā . . . .*

"He whose seed is raised up, whose Linga is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky." . . . . v. 1191. "The lord of the Linga, the lord of the suras (gods) . . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed."<sup>176</sup>

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Dr. Stevenson (Journal R. A. S., viii. 330<sup>177</sup>) and Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., i. 2nd ed. 924) imagine, it

<sup>176</sup> In the Sautika-parvan it is related that Mahādova had been appointed by Brahmā to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so so long that Brahmā produced another creator, who performed his task. Mahādova at last came, and seeing that the creation had already been effected, he became angry and split his Linga, which was then placed in the earth (v. 780 f.: *śukrodha bhagavān Rudro lingaṁ evaṁ chāpyavidhyata | tat praviddhaṁ tathā bhūmau tathaiva pratyatishṭata*). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, scet. 31, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇo rākṣaseśvaraḥ | jāmūnādamayaṁ lingaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate* | 43. *Būhukū-vedī-maulhyo tu tal lingaṁ śhūṇya Rāvaṇaḥ | archayāmāsa gandhaḥ cha puṣpaiś chāmṛita-gandhibhiḥ* | "Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākṣasas, went, a golden linga was carried thither. Placing that linga in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour." The commentator remarks on v. 43: *Tal lingaṁ jāmūnādamayaṁ nitya-pūjī-lingam | Aśvarya-kūmanayā hi tal-linga-pūjā Rāvaṇasya | Aśvarya-kūmanaya savarna-linga-pūjāyāṁ tantreshūkteḥ* | "That golden linga was intended for constant worship. He worshipped it from the desire of sovereignty. For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden linga should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

<sup>177</sup> In this paper on "the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the "worship of Siva, especially under the form of the Linga," is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, i.e. to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to Siva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts: (1) that Siva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later Siva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Dakṣa (see above, pp. 372 ff.), such as the general indisposition to acknowledge Siva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 377, note 132), point to a recent introduction of Siva's worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, vv. 11001 ff., cited

is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śisnadeva," which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda, had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the second volume of this work (p. 391, note 76). But I shall quote them again here with their obscure and difficult contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:

R. V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tvam Indra sravitavai apas kaḥ parishṭitāḥ Ahinā kūra pūrvīḥ | tvad vāvakre rathyo na dhenāḥ rejante viśvā kṛitrimāṇi bhīṣā |* 4. *Bhīmo vivesha āyudhebhīr eśhām apāṃsi viśvā naryāṇi vidvān | Indrah puro jarhṛishāno vi dādhdod vi vajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna |* 5. *Na yātavaḥ Indra jūjvur no na vandanā śavisṭha vedyābhiḥ<sup>178</sup> | sa śardhad aryo vishuṇasya jantor mā śisna-devāḥ api gur ṛitaṃ naḥ |* 6. *Abhi kratvā Indra bhūr adha jman na te vivyan mahimūnaṃ rajāṃsi | svena hi Vṛitraṃ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antaṃ vidad yudhā te |* 7. *Devās chit te asuryāya pūrve anu kshatrāya mamīro sahāṃsi | Indro maghāni dayate vishahya Indraṃ vājasya johavantu sātāu |* 8. *Kṛis chid hi tvām avase juhāva iśūṇam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | avo babhūtha śatam-ūte asme āhikshattus tvāvato varūtā |*

"3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Through thee the cows (rivers,

in p. 284 of this volume); (4) that there is no connexion between the Linga and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the Linga worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a Linga temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishnu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśvesvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

<sup>178</sup> For the sense assigned to this word in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, see s.v. *vedyā*.

according to Śāyana) have rolled on like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunder-bolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant [deity], of a truth any evil spirits. The glorious [Indra] defies the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the 'śisna' approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, O Indra, hast surpassed in power, when thou runnest thy course. The worlds have not comprehended within them thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have yielded to thy divine power; their powers have bowed before thy sovereign might.<sup>179</sup> Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra in the combat. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, a defender against the assailant of him who is devoted to thee."

R. V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kaṁ naś chitram ishanyasi chikitvān prithugmānaṁ vāsraṁ vāvṛidhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyushtau takshad vajraṁ Vṛitra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāmu prithuṁ yonim asuratvā "sasūda | sa sanīlebbhiḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na rite sapta-thasya māyāḥ | 3. Sa vājaṁ yūtā apadushpadā yan vvarshātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya<sup>180</sup> vedo ghnan śisnadevān abhi varpasā 'bhāt | 4. Sa yahvyo avanīr goshu arvā ā juhōti pradhanyāsu sasriḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathāḥ drony-āśvāsah īrate ghṛitāṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir aśasta-vāraḥ ribhvā hitvā gayam āre-avadyāḥ ā agūt | vamrasya manye mīthunā vivearī annam abhītya arodhāt mushhāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ twi-ravam patir dan śad-ākṣhaṁ tri-śīrshāṇāṁ damanyat | asya Trīto nu ojaś vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han | 7. Sa druhoane manushe ūrdhvasānāḥ ā sāviśhad arśasūndya śarum | sa nṛitamo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhīnad arhan dasyu-hatyā |* "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to us for our delight! What an act of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the

<sup>179</sup> "Ihre Kraft kommt dñiner Herrscherkraft nicht gleich,"—Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* mā+anu.

<sup>180</sup> This word in the locative plural also occurs in R. V. i. 51, 3.

Vritra-aying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them, he has gone to, and in hostile array besieged, inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the 'śisna,' he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the flowing rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth fertilizing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. Coming and plundering their food, he has, I believe, made the two unsheltered (children) of Vamra to weep. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped shaft. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)."<sup>181</sup>

The following is Sāyana's explanation of the word "śisnadeva" in the first of the preceding passages, R. V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *S'isna-devāḥ | śisnena divyanti kriḍanti iti śisna-devāḥ | abrahmacharyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yaskaḥ | . . . "śisna-devāḥ abrahmacharyāḥ" | . . . "Śisnadevāḥ" are those who sport with the śisna (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yaska says, 'Śisnadevāḥ' means the unchaste.* Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyana. He says that those men are called "śisnadeva" who "are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances" (*śisnena nityam eva prakīrṇābhīḥ strībhīḥ sakaṁ kriḍantaḥ āsate śrautāni karmāny utarjiya*). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by "Schwanz-götter."

<sup>181</sup> Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages. —Note in first edition. I have made a good many alterations in the second edition.



It does not appear to me that Sāyana's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word "deva" forms the last member of the compound, as "anṛita-deva" (vii. 104, 14) and "mūra-deva" (vii. 104, 24).<sup>122</sup> Sāyana explains "mūra-devāḥ" as—"māraṇa-kṛdāḥ," "those who make a sport of killing"; and he therefore takes "deva" there in the same sense as he does in "śisna-deva." But in the other word, "anṛita-deva," he takes "deva" in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (*anṛitāḥ asatya-bhūtāḥ devāḥ yasya tādṛśāḥ*). In the same way he understands "anti-devam" in R.V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word "anṛita-deva" is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyana gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word "deva." Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyana to "śisna-deva" appear to be in itself a very probable one. For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R.V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4; x. 85, 37, and x. 86, 16, 17, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 307 f., 460 f.). On the other hand, if the word "śisna-deva" is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words "akarman," "adavayu," "anṛich," "anindra," "anya-vrata," "apavrata," "avrata," "abrahman," "ayajvan" "ayajyu" | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the second volume of this work, pp. 359 f., 371 ff.

It is, however, objected that "śisna" cannot be taken as equivalent to "Linga," which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the "śisna" denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. "Śisna" has also the sense of "tail," as in R.V. i. 105, 8,

<sup>122</sup> The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* as=*mūladava*, and as denoting a species of goblins.

pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūṣhe na śīṣa vyadanti mā adhyaḥ* mean, "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word "śīṣnadevāḥ," if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the śīṣa." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word "dasyu," viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the second volume of this work, pp. 362 ff.; 388 ff.), recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of "śīṣa-deva," that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word "yātavaḥ" (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word "śīṣnadeva" does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyaṇa, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the second vol. of this work (pp. 419 f.), Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume), on the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Śiva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of his assertion in regard to the worship of Śiva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the south. In note 116, p. 370, of his ninth vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, had a golden serpent for

his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Rākshasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kāṇḍa it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa to which Gorresio refers occurs, in the Bombay edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, vv. 18 f. (=Sundara Kāṇḍa 78, 17, in Gorresio's ed.), and is as follows:

*Tiṣṭha vā kim mahārāja śramena tava vānarān | ayam eko mahārāja  
Indrajit kṣhapayishyati | anāya cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam |  
iṣṭvā yajñaṁ varo labdho loka parama-durlabhaḥ |* "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This Indrajit alone will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered an unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 184 ff., 283 ff.), by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Siva alone whom the Rākshasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (cited above in p. 167) that Rāvaṇa had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā. At the same time it will be seen from a passage cited below from the Uttara Kāṇḍa 25, 9, that it was the sacrifice to Mahādeva, and not the one to Viṣṇu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmā is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvaṇa's sons, in Rāmāyaṇa vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed):

*Ētenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā | astrāṇi dhāpy avāptāni  
ripavāś cha parājitaḥ | gurāsurair abadhyaivaṁ dattam asmai Svayam-  
bhuvā |* "By this contemplative (Rākshasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered

his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 28 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and of renowned strength" (*vriddha-sevī śruta-balaḥ*<sup>183</sup>). Rāvaṇa himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 ff. (Bombay ed.=vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.), his minister, Supārśva (Avindhya<sup>184</sup> in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-vrataḥ snātas eva-karma-nirataḥ*<sup>185</sup> *tathā | śrīyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ vīra manyase Rāksha-seśvara |* "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, who knowest the Veda, hast practised the prescribed discipline, and art an initiated householder, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhīṣaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 23, Bombay ed.=vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Eṣho hitāgnīḥ*<sup>186</sup> *cha mahātapaś cha vedāntagaḥ karmasu chāgrya-śuraḥ |* "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites."<sup>187</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Instead of *śruta-balaḥ*, Gorresio's edition reads *śrutidharaḥ*, "an observer of the Vedas." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: *Vriddhāṁścha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidāḥ śuchīn | vriddha-sevī hi satatam rakshobhir api pūjyate |* "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmins, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rākshasas." Can this verse refer to the character *vriddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 28) quoted above? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connexion? The coincidence is at least curious.

<sup>184</sup> Ho is, as remarked by the commentator, also called Avindhya; and so in the (Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vv. 16148, 16492-6, and elsewhere).

<sup>185</sup> The commentator thus explains these words: *Veda-vidyā-grahāpekṣita-brahma-charya-vrata-pūrva-vidyām grihitvā | snātaḥ | guru-kūṭā samāvrītas tadāntaram dāra-graṇa-pūrvaṁ nityāgnihoṭrādi-eva-karma-nirataḥ |* "One who has obtained a knowledge of the Veda after practising the discipline of continence required for the reception of such knowledge; and who, after returning from his preceptor's family, has married a wife, and continues devoted to the practice of the agnihotra and other indispensable rites." See Wilson's and Williams's Dictionaries, s.v. *snāta* and *snātaka*, and Kullūka's note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

<sup>186</sup> *Eṣho hitāgnir ity āśraḥ sandhīḥ | āhitāgnir iti ehhedaḥ |* Comm.

<sup>187</sup> *Vedāntagaḥ | adhitapanāṭhatkaḥ | karmasu agnihotrādishu | agryaśuraḥ | paramānuhātātā parama-karmaḥ |* In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhīṣaṇa thus speaks of Rāvaṇa: *Gataḥ setuḥ śmītānām gato dharmasya vighraḥ | gataḥ satasya sankṣepaḥ suhastānām gatir gatā | ādityaḥ patito bhūman*

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed), that Rāvaṇa was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator (in his note on verse 107) says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rākshasa-brahmans (*Rākshasa-dvayāḥ*)

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed)—*Chitām chandana-kāsthaś cha padmakōṣīra-chandanaiḥ | brāhmyā<sup>108</sup> samvartayāmāsuḥ rāṅkavāstaraṇāvṛitām | prachakruḥ Rākshasendrasya pīṭrimodham anuttamam | vedincha dakṣhiṇāprāchīṁ yathā-sthānancha pāvakam | priśhadāyena sampurnam śruvām ślandhe piśachikṣipuḥ | pādāyoh śakāṣam prāpur urvoś cholukhalaṁ tadā | dāru-pātrāṇi sarvāni arāṇiṁ ohottarāraṇiṁ | dattvā tu musalāṁ chānyāṁ yathā-sthānāṁ vicakramuḥ | śāstra-dṛṣṭena vidhinā maharṣi-vidhitena<sup>109</sup> cha | tatra modhyam paśuṁ hatvā Rākshasendrasya Rākshasāḥ | paristaraniḥ<sup>110</sup> rājno ghrīṭāktāṁ samavesayan | gandhair mālyair alankṛitya Rāvaṇaṁ dīna-mānasāḥ | Vibhīṣhaṇa-sahāyāḥ te vastraiś cha vidhaur api | lājair avakiranti sma vāṣpa-pūrṇa-mukhūś tathā | sa dadau pāvakaṁ tasya vidhi-yuktaṁ Vibhīṣhaṇaḥ | enātiā chauṇḍra-īstreṇa tilān darbha-śmīṣṛitān | udakena cha sammīṣṛān pradūya vidhi-purakam<sup>111</sup> |* “They formed,

*magnas tanasī chandramāḥ* | “The bulwark of the righteous is gone, gone is the image of virtue, gone is the summary of goodness [or strength, Comm], the lot of heroes has been gained by him The sun has fallen to the ground, the moon has been quenched in darkness,” etc And yet Vibhīṣhaṇa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed), vv 93 ff.

<sup>108</sup> *Veda-marganugata-kṛiyayā* | Comm

<sup>109</sup> *Kalpa-sūti a-kṛid-ṛiṣhī-vidhitena* | Comm

<sup>110</sup> *Paristariyate mukham anayā itī paristaraniḥ vapū | tām rākshasendrasya mukhe samavesayan* | “*vapū* ‘*nya mukham prauṇauṣi*’ itī *sūtrāt* | Comm, who seems therefore to understand *paristaraniḥ* of fat (see Muller as cited in the article referred to in note 192) The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which I quote *Tīrthas tu anustaraṇikīm rājnah itī pathitoṇ anustaraṇikīm iṣyagav m tām ālabhya tachcharmaṇā yajamānam āstritavantiḥ ity arthah* | “But Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads *anustaraṇikīm iṣyāḥ*, and explains the sense thus having immolated a rajagavi (bos grunniens), they covered the sacrifice with its skin,”

<sup>111</sup> I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi 96, 10 ff) · *Tatas te veda-vidvāṁsas tam rājnah paśchimam kṛiyāṁ | chakruḥ rākshasendrasya prota-medham anuttamam | vedincha dakṣhiṇā-prāchyām yathā-sthānāṁ cha pāvakam | Vibhīṣhaṇas tu sampūṇya tūṣhṇiṁ samasṛyat śruvām | priśhadāyasya sampūṇṇān śruvān sarvān yathavidhi | Rāvaṇasya tadā sarvā vāṣpa-pūrṇa-mukhāḥ dvayāḥ | pādāyoh śakāṣam chakruḥ aśtarorāv udukhalaṁ | vānaspatyāni chānyāni anīre 'pi vyadhāpayan | dattvā tu musalāṁ chava yathāsthanam mahātmanah | śāstra-dṛṣṭena vidhinā maharṣi-vidhitena cha | tatak paśchāt paśuṁ hatvā rākshasendrasya rākshasāḥ | āhūstaraṇikāṁ sarvāṁ ghrīṭāktāṁ samavesayan |*

with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with "padmaka" wood, "usīra" grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rākshasa prince, [placing] the sacrificial ground to the south-east and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder<sup>192</sup> (of the deceased); they placed the ear on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and lower firewood (*aranyā*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Śāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with butter. They then, Vibhīṣaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhīṣaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form "tila" seeds mixed with "darbha" grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile]."<sup>193</sup>

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x.) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rākshasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

<sup>192</sup> "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed on the nose, this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras" (*yadyapi "nāṅke śruvō" ity Āpastambenoktaṁ tīkṣhṇī sūtrāṇīrāt śkandha 'pi nīkṣhepaḥ śruvasya bodhyah*). Compare Professor Muller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmans in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. vi ff.

<sup>193</sup> On this whole passage the commentator remarks: "*Tatyajus tam mahābhāgam pancha-bhūtān Rāvaṇam | śarīra-dhātavo hy asya māṁsaṁ rudhiram eva cha | nesur brahmāstra-nirādagdhāḥ na cha bhaṁṣy adṛśyata*" it. *Mahābhārata uktatevā kasya Vālmīkīnā śmaśānāyana-pūrvakam dāhah uktah itī chen na | tasya Rāmā-vāṇa-tejo-varṇana-vishaye 'tyukty-alankāra-paratvād itī vadati* | "Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parvan 16529 f.) that 'the five elements forsook the great Rāvaṇa, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen,'—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's prowess the Mahābhārata makes use of the ornament of exaggeration."

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Ravana, there is anything, except the "Rākshasa texts," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Bombay ed.), in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the Nikumbhilā as being offered to Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length:<sup>104</sup>

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff (Gorr) — *Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kāriṇā | nirṛito Bāli-putreṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudūruṇam | so 'nta dhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇiḥ raṇa-larṇasāḥ | nikumbhīlāyāṁ vidhi-vat Pārakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhratas tasya tatrāgnau raktośṇīśhāmbara-rajah | āyahrus tatra sambhrūntūh Rākshasāḥ yatra Rāvaṇiḥ | śāstrāṇi śitadhārūṇi samidho 'tha vibhītan | lohitanī cha vāsāṁsī sruvaṁ*

<sup>104</sup> The Bombay edition (vi. 44, 32 ff.) gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows *Brahma-datta vairo viro Ravanāḥ krodha-murchhitāḥ | adriṣyo nṛsītā vānūn munoḥśānti-ārachasāḥ |* "The son of Ravana, to whom a boon had been given by Brahma, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, gleaming like lightnings. No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Bombay text. In Rāmāyaṇa, book v, sect 24 (Bombay ed.), it is related that the female Rākshasas had been threatening Sītā after her capture by Ravana, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, Śūrpanakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 f) *Surā chānṛyatūṁ kṣipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mūṇuṣhaṁ māṇsaṁ āśādyā nṛtyāmo 'tha nikumbhīlām |* "And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all sorrows. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhila." The comment on this passage states that the *Nikumbhīlā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Lanka (*Nikumbhīlā nāma Lankāyāḥ paścīma-bhāga-vartinī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛtyāmaḥ tat-samīpaṁ gatā nṛtyamāḥ*). In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (sect 25, v. 2) we are told that Ravana, with his attendants, entered "the Nikumbhīlā, a grove in Lankā" (*tato nikumbhīlā nāma Lankopavamaṁ uttamam*). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Lankā for the performance of rites" (*Lankā-paścīma-dvāra-deśa-varti-karma-siddhi-kāśa-bhūtaṁ kūṇanam*). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Usanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the "agnishtoma," "asvamedha," "rajasūya," "gomedha" (cow-sacrifice), the Vaishnava ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the Māheśvara offering, "which it is difficult for men to obtain," he obtained boons from Mahadeva, who appeared to him (*ibid.* verses 3 ff.) (This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 412.) But he had also been performing the Vaishnava rite, which, however, is not said to have been productive of any results. Verses 76 ff. of this section are as follows *Yagnas te sapta putreṇa prāptās te bahu vistārāḥ | 8. Agnishtoma 'śvamedhaḥ cha yajno bahuvargyakaḥ | rajasūyas tathā yajno gomēdho Vaishnavas tathā | 9. Māheśvare pravṛtite tu yajne puṇḍrīk sudurlabhe | carāṁs te labdhavān putrah sūkṣhāt Pasupatiḥ cha |* Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word "Bahuvargyaka" stands for a seventh.

*kāśhāyasaṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīrya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ |  
 • ohhāgalasyāpi kṛishṇasya kaṁthād ādāya jīvataḥ | soṇitaṁ tena vidhivat  
 sa juhāva ranotsukaḥ | sakṛid eva samiddhasya vidhūmasya mahārohiṣaḥ |  
 babhūvauḥ saṁnimittāni vijayaṁ yāny aveḍayan | pradakṣiṇāvarta-tikṣas  
 tapta-hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ | haviḥ tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitaḥ |  
 tato 'gni-madhyād uttasthau kānohanaḥ syandanottamaḥ | chaturbhiḥ kān-  
 chanāpīḍair aśvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | anturdhāna-gataḥ śrīmān  
 dipta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | hutāgnim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rāksha-  
 sūn | vāohayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktūḥ dvijātibhiḥ | āruroha rathaṁ  
 śreṣhṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sa-vaśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ  
 śastraiḥ cha vividhair yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇa-  
 ditya-sannibhaḥ | babhūvendrajitaḥ ketur vaidūrya-samalankṛitaḥ | Huta  
 'gniṁ Rākshasair mantrais tato vachanam abravīt |*

“But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-work-  
 ing son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son  
 of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation  
 to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was  
 there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, gar-  
 ments, and garland, the reverent Rākshasas brought thither sharp-  
 edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and  
 a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows,  
 darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a  
 live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At  
 the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless  
 fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself, rising, with his  
 flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received  
 the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent  
 golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments;  
 but became invisible, while glorious and lustrous as burning fire. Having  
 satiated the sacrificial fire, with the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas,  
 having caused a benediction (*svasti*) to be pronounced, and been blessed  
 by the Brahmans, [Indrajit] ascended the beautiful chariot, moving  
 invisibly, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various  
 weapons. . . . 50. A golden serpent,<sup>126</sup> bright as the rising sun,  
 and adorned with lapis lazuli,<sup>9</sup> formed the banner of Indrajit. Having  
 made an oblation to Fire with Rākshasa texts, he then spake,” etc.

<sup>126</sup> See, in reference to this, the quotation from Signor Gorresio given above in p. 412.



The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīṣhaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed.=vi. 63, 13, of Gorr. ed.):

*Chaityaṁ nikumbhilām adya prūpya homaṁ karishyati | Hutavān upayūto hi devair api sa-vāsavaḥ | durādharṣo bhavaty eṣa saṅgrāṁ Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | . . . 16. Sa-sainyās tatra gachchāmo yāvat tan na samāpyato | . . . 23. Samāpta-karmū hi sa Rākṣhasarṣabho bhavaty adṛśyaḥ samare surāsuraiḥ | yuyutsatū tena samāpta-karmaṇā bhavet surāṇām api saṁśayo mahān |* "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvaṇa is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,<sup>196</sup> that prince of the Rākshasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhīṣhaṇa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Bombay ed.=vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

*Tena viroṇa tapasū vara-dānāt Svayambhuvaḥ | aṣṭam brahma-śiraḥ prāptaṁ kāmagaś cha turangamūḥ | sa eṣa saha sainyena prāptaḥ kila nikumbhilām | yady uttiṣṭhet kṛtām karma hatān sarvāṁś cha vidhī naḥ | nikumbhilām asaṁprāptam akṛitāgniṁ cha yo ripuḥ | tvām ātatāyinaṁ hanyāt Indrasatro sa te badhaḥ |* "This hero has obtained through austerities, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called 'brahma-śiras,' and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his ceremony, you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee, thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,<sup>197</sup>

<sup>196</sup> It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 30, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe. For a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, see the Appendix.

<sup>197</sup> Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilām tad-yāga-bhūmim mahākālī-kṣhetraṁ tad-ākhyā-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam* | "That sacrificial ground, the sacred precinct of the great Kālī—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . *pravīṣya tu mahad vanam | adarśayata tat-kurma-Lakṣmaṇāya Vibhīṣhaṇaḥ | nīla-jimūṭa-sankūḍaṁ nyagrodham bhīmādarśanam | tejovī Rṣyaṇa-bhṛtā Lakṣmaṇāya nyavedat | ihopahāram bhūṭānām balavān Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | upahṛitya tataḥ paśēhāt saṅgrāmaṁ abhivartata | adṛśyaḥ sarva-bhūṭānām tato bhavati Rākṣasaḥ | nihantī samare śatrūn badhātī cha śrotamūḥ | tam apraviṣṭaṁ nyagrodham baṭinaṁ Rāvaṇātmajam | vidhīcāmya śarair dīptair ityādi |*

and kindled the fire, this, O enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy death," etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14, f., Bombay ed.=65, 12 Gorr.) that he rose before his rite had been completed :

*Scam anikāṁ viṣhannāṁ tu drishṭvā śatrubhīr ardistam | udatisṭhata dūrdharśah sa karmāny ananushṭhite | vrikshāndhakārād nurgamya jāta-krodhah sa Rāvaṇah | ityādi |* "Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākshasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, sect 89, vv. 22 ff (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Bombay ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p 370, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Vibhīṣhaṇa with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākshasas, he might have been expected to describe this deity as repaying their worship with especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākshasa camp.

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed ), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Viṣṇu at great length But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Viṣṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument Even while the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any

sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Siva.<sup>198</sup>

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Siva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.<sup>199</sup>

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra, or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv., p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him, and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain what this apparition was. When, in answer to Brahma's inquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2):

<sup>198</sup> It is also related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana (sections 4-8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Itakhsa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahadeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lanka, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Viṣṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātala. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvana in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 31, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of S'iva among the southern races more than among the northern.

<sup>199</sup> Rodasī is his wife according to the Nirukta xi. 49; and xii. 46; *Rodasī Rudrasya patnī*. Sāyaṇa, however, on R.V. 1. 167, 4 and 5, says that she is the wife of the Maruts. On v. 4 his words are. *Tasya (Rudrasya) strī Rodasī iti kachid āhuḥ | apare tu Maru ōm tasya Rodasī strī nāmadheyam ity āhuḥ | ayam eva pakṣho yuktah uttaratra evaṁ vyavahūṭ |* "Some say Rodasī is Rudra's wife. Others say Rodasī is the name of the wife of the Maruts. This is the correct view, from the word being so applied afterwards" (in the next verse). On verse 5 Sāyaṇa says *Rodasī Maruḥ-patnī vidyud vā*. "Rodasī is the wife of the Maruts, or Lightning." In this verse she receives the epithet of *viśvita-stukā*, "having dishevelled hair;" and is said to seek the society of the Maruts (*Joshad yad im asuryā sachadhyas viśvita-stukā Rodasī nṛmonāḥ*). I doubt if she is much, if at all, noticed in the later literature. See the fifth volume of this work, pp 148 and 345.

*Atha Indram abruvan "Maghavan etad vijānīhi kim etad yakṣham" iti | "tāhā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmāt tirodadhē | 12. Sa tasmīn eva ākāśe striyam ājagāma bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm | tām ha wācha kim etad yakṣham iti | iv. 1. Sā Brahma iti ha wācha Brahmano vai etad-vijaye mahīyadhvam iti | tato ha eva vidānchakāra Brahmoti |* "They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this apparition is.' He replied, 'So be it;' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī. To her he said, 'What is this apparition?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, exult.' By this he knew that it was Brahma."<sup>200</sup>

In his remarks<sup>201</sup> on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.), Professor Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya,<sup>202</sup> who had become developed into the conjoint representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Puruṣa Sukta (R.V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory

<sup>200</sup> This is explained by the commentator *Tasya Indrasya yakṣo bhaktim buddhāv Vidyā Umā-rūpīṇī prādurbhūt stri-rūpā | sa Indras tām Umām bahu śobhamānām sarveshām hi śobhamānānām śobhanatamām Vidyām tadā "bahu śobhamānā" iti vidakṣyam upapannam bhavati. | Haimavatīm hema-kṛtābharanavatīm eva bahu śobhamānām ity arthah | athavā Umā eva Himavatō dukṛtā Haimavatī nityam eva sarvajña Iśvareṇa saha vartate iti jñātum samarthā iti kṛtvā tām upajagāma Indras tām ha Umām kila wācha papracchā kim etad darśayitvā turobhūtam yakṣham |* "Knowing Indra's devotion to this apparition, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet 'very resplendent' is then established. 'Haimavatī' means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umā Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Iśvara (Mahādeva) is able to know. With this belief Indra approached Umā, and said to her, 'What is this apparition which appeared and vanished?'"

<sup>201</sup> Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

<sup>202</sup> See above, pp. 163 and 293.

explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahman (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

"But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahman and the gods? According to Sankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umā-rūpiṇī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyana, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150, p. 787 of the text in the Bibliotheca Indica), when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks: *Himavat-putryāḥ Gauryaḥ brahma-vidyābhimānī-rūpatvād Gaurī-vāchakaḥ Umā-śabdo brahma-vidyām upalakshayati | ataḥ eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ paṭhyate* "bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm tāṁ ha uvācha" *iti | tad-vishayaḥ Paramātmā*<sup>203</sup> *Umayā saha vartamānatvāt Somaḥ* | "[Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: "He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī. The supreme Spirit, who is the object of this Divine Knowledge, from his existing together with Umā, is called Soma (i.e. *Sa+Uma*.)"]"<sup>204</sup> And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 48, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha vartamāna Soma paramātman* | 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, O Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhārtr* | 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word *Umāpataye* (which stands in the Drāviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyāḥ eva brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umā-śabdano-ahyate tasyāḥ svāmīno* | 'Her (Ambikā's) body, consisting of divine knowledge, is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,'

<sup>203</sup> [The word *Paramātmā* is not in the text as given by Weber.]

<sup>204</sup> [The same explanation of Soma is given in the Atharvasiras Upanishad. See above, p. 302.]

etc.<sup>205</sup> This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression ‘Umā-sahāya’ in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 363) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the commentaries in other places also<sup>206</sup> explain ‘soma’ by ‘Umayā sahita,’ ‘accompanied by Umā’ (as Sāyana has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyana, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting ‘Brahma-vidyā,’ ‘divine knowledge,’ and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connexion with the sacred word ‘om.’ There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with the Himavat? Is it that the Brahma-vidyā (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadesa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vācchaṁ śikṣitum*), and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority.\* Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himālaya than was possible for men living

<sup>205</sup> [The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms *Ambikūpataye* and *Umāpataye*, as given in the Bibl. Indica, are as follows: Text: *Namo hīranyabāhavo hīranyavarṇāya hīranyarūpaya hīranyapataye Ambikūpataye Umāpataye paśupataye namo namaḥ* | Comm.: *Ambikā jagannmūtā Pārvatī | tasyāḥ pataye bhartre | tasyāḥ eva Ambikūyāḥ brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umā-tadlena uchyate | tādriyāḥ Umāyāḥ pataye svāmine Rudrāya punaḥ punaḥ namaḥkāro 'stu.'*]

<sup>206</sup> *e.g.* Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding passage of the Taiitt. Saṁhitā.

in Medhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For—not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.), and so Śiva's, would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatī, to place the emphasis not upon the Himavat, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the Satarudriya (see above, p. 322), Girīśa, Girīśanta, Girīśaya, Giritra, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Śiva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavatī, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;<sup>207</sup> and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183).<sup>208</sup> Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as

<sup>207</sup> Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? 'In the same way Sarasvatī also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitāmā, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame śikhare jātā parvata-mūrdhani*). According to this view, Umā and Sarasvatī, Ambikā and Ambitāmā, Pārvatī and the *parvata-mūrdhani jātā*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadā of the Taitt. Ār. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatī." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connexion of Umā and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyana i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 430) Umā is the younger, while the river Gāṅgā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J.M.]

<sup>208</sup> See above, p. 321.

Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahādhara on Vāj. S. 3, 57,<sup>300</sup>—just as Rudra was called Siva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root 'u,' 'av,' 'to protect.' It is true that a final vowel before 'ma' commonly takes 'guṇa,' or is lengthened, but the words 'sima' and 'hima' show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive it from 'ram') a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Īśvara, and thus also as Brahma; i.e. it would belong to the period of some Śaiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Siva's spouse. As in Siva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,<sup>310</sup> and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛiti, the goddess of all evil.

<sup>300</sup> [The words of Mahādhara here referred to are: *Yo 'yaṁ Rudrākhyāḥ krūro devas tasya virōdhināṁ hantum icchā bhavati tadū anayā bhaginyā krūradavatayā sādhanabhūtayā taṁ hinasti* | "This cruel god called Rudra desires to slay his enemy. Then by the instrumentality of this sister, a cruel goddess, he destroys him." Then follow the words quoted above in p. 321, note 40, at the end.]

<sup>310</sup> "The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhiṣṭhira to Durgā, where he calls her *Yasodā*, *Kṛishṇā*, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' 'sister of Vāsudeva,' 'enemy of Kansa,' and 'having the same features as Sankarashana,' etc., etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."



"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228<sup>211</sup>). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārī*<sup>212</sup> *dhīmahi | tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt |* ['We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyākumārī; may Durgi advance us.']

. . . "Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it,<sup>213</sup> and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads.

<sup>211</sup> In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ār. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ār., viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīm dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt*, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīm dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the third volume of this work, p. 263 f., this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīyai dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

<sup>212</sup> The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyākumārīm* as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has *Kanyākumārī*.

<sup>213</sup> Sāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | Hema-prakhyām indu-khaṇḍāṅka-maulīm [-āntamaulīm, in Bibl. Ind.] ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrti-dharāṁ [-rīṣṭ, B. I.] Durgām prārthayate "Kātyāyanāya" iti | kṛttīm vaste iti Kātyo [Kātyo, B. I.] Rudrah | . . . sa eva ayanam adhiṣṭhānaṁ yasyāḥ sū Kātyāyanī [Kātyāyanī, B. I.] Athavā Kāṭasya rishi-viśeshasya apatyaiṁ Kātyāḥ | . . . Kutsitam amishṭham mārayati iti kumārī kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumārī cha Kanyākumārī | Durgīḥ Durgā | līṅgādi-vyatyayaḥ savatra ohlūṇḍaso drakṣṭavyaḥ |* [There are other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.] . . . "Then follows Durgā's gāyatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the śāstras 'as bright as gold, and having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.' Kātya is he who wears a skin, Rudra . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kāta, a particular rishi. . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyākumārī. Durgi is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas."

All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz. Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shagmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Nārasinha, Āditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Śiva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kātyāyanī this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmins, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. Kanyākumārī, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, i.e. of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Śiva himself (whose name Nilakaṇṭha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Νελοκόνθα of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (Āndhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said<sup>214</sup> in the second verse [Bibl. Ind., p. 788]: *Tām agnivarṇāṁ tapasā jvalantiṁ vairo-chaṇiṁ karma-phaleṣu jushṭām | Durgāṁ devīm śaraṇam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ |* \*['I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites: adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous [goddess].'] The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Pārisiṣṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R. V. i. 99,<sup>215</sup> that Agni

<sup>214</sup> "This verse is also found in the *Durgā-stava* of the *Bṛāhmaparīśiṣṭa* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Aṣṭaka of the R.V." (i.e. between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

<sup>215</sup> This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase runavāma somam avāṛīyato nidahāti vedaḥ | ea naḥ parśad ati durgāni vidvā nūveva sindhūm śuritū 'ti Agnīḥ |*

would help the suppliant over all 'durga' and 'durita' (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified Durgati (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all 'durga' and 'durita,' is a 'durgā,' a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, Siva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of Siva bore a terrific character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

"The last name of Siva's consort which I find in the Taitt. Ār. x. is Varadā, in anuvākas 26 and 30. It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: *Āyātu varadā devī aksharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatrīm [gāyatrī, Bibl. Ind.] chhandasām mātā idam brahma jushasva me | . . . sarvavarṇe mahādevī sandhyā-vidye Sarasvatī* <sup>216</sup> But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: *Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhani | brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanuṣṇātā gachha devī yathāśukham | stuto (= stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayanti pavane devijātā,* <sup>217</sup> etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the 'waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort

<sup>216</sup> [The sense of these words, according to the reading in the Bibl. Ind., is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, the mother of the Vedas, the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, receive with favour this my prayer . . . O thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī." The latter portion of this quotation is not found in the text in the Bibl. Ind.]

<sup>217</sup> [The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmins, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc. The latter part of this quotation does not occur in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.]

of Siva. The other names, however, 'sarva-varṇā,' 'chhandasām mātā,' 'veda-mātā,' and finally 'Sarasvatī' itself, conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 26-30. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 189" (see p. 424, note 207, above).

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract from the Indische Studien, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Siva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in a passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṇḍaka i. 2, 4), where they are appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravarṇā | Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lālayamānāḥ iti sapta jīhvāḥ* | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one), Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṇā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lālayamānāḥ dahanaśya jīhvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthiḥ etāḥ sapta jīhvāḥ* | "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for 'devouring oblations of butter.'"

On this passage Prof. Weber has the following remarks in his Indische Studien i. 286 f., which are thus of an earlier date than those above cited: "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Siva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since

we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālati-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shown in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds: "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Siva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Siva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 378, 385), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Dakṣha, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Dakṣha's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.=Bombay ed. 35, 13 ff; Gorresio's ed. 37, 14 ff.).—*Sailendro Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-dvayaṁ jātān rūpenāpratimam bhuri | yā Meru-duhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojnā vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gangeyam abhavaj jyeshṭhā Himavataḥ sūtā | Umā nāma dṛitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rūghava | . . . 19. Yā chānyā Saila-duhitā kanyā' sīd Raghunandana | ugraṁ sā vratam āsthāya tapas tapaḥ tapo-dhanā | ugrēṇa tapasā yuktāṁ dadau Saila-varaḥ sūtām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskṛitām | Ity ete Saila-rājasya sūte Rāma bābhūvatulḥ | Gangā cha saritām śrṅghā devīnāṁ chāpy Umā varā |* "To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous ritē, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra.

These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses."

The Harivaṃśa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included :

*Eteshām mānasi kanyā Menā nāma mahāgīreḥ | patnī Himavataḥ  
bṛeṣṭhā . . . 943. Tisraḥ kanyās tu Menāyām janayāmāsa S'aila-rāṭ |  
Aparṇām Ekaparṇām cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapaś charantyaḥ su-  
mahad duṣcharaṃ Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpāyāmāsus tās tisraḥ  
sthānu-jangamān | āharam eka-parṇena Ekaparṇā samāoharat | pāṭalā-  
pushpam ekaṃ cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirūhārā tām mātā  
pratyashedhayat | "u mā" iti nishedhanti mātṛi-snehena duḥkṛitā | sū-  
tathoktā tada mātṛā devī duṣchara-chārini | Umety evābhavat khyātā  
trishu lokaṣu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharmiṇī |  
etat tu trikumārīkaṃ jagat sthāsyati Bhūrgava | tapaḥ-sarīrās tāḥ sarvās  
tisro yoga-bālānvitāḥ | sarvās cha brahma-vūḍīnyaḥ sarvās chaivordhva-  
retanāḥ | Umā tū sūm varishṭhā cha jyeshṭhā cha vara-varṇinī | mahāyoga-  
balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparṇā tu Devalasya mahāt-  
manāḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogūchāryūya dhimate | Jaigishavyūya  
tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭalām |*

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz. Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ekapāṭalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṇā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭalā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* ('O don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was

the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparnā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the Yoga. And know that Ekapātālā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigishavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā which, as has been mentioned in p. 205, he uttered at the suggestion of Kṛishṇa: <sup>218</sup>

Mahābhārata, Bhishma-parv. vv. 796 ff—*Arjunaḥ uvācha | namas te Siddhasenāni ārye mandasā-vāsini | Kumāre Kālī Kāpālī Kapilī Kṛishṇa-pīṅgalā | Bhadrakālī namas tubhyam Mahākālī namo 'stu te | Chāṇḍī Chāṇḍī namas tubhyam Tārīṇī Varavarṇinī | Kātyāyanī mahābhāgye Karālī Vijayā Jayā | tikhi-pichha-dhvaṇya-dhare nānābharaṇa-bhūṣite | atṭa-kūla-praharaṇo khadga-khetaka-dhārīṇī | gopendrasyaṇuṇye jyeshṭhō Nandagopa-kulodbhavo | Mahāhārīk-priye nityaṁ Kausikī pīṭa-vāsini | atṭa-hāse loka-mukhe namas te 'stu raṇa-priye | Uṣe Sākambharī Svete Kṛishṇe Kaṭabha-nāṭinī | Hiranyakṣī Virūpākṣī Dhūmrākṣī cha namo 'stu te | Veda-śruti-mahūpanyo brahmaṇyo Jātavedasī | Jambū-kāṭaka-chaityeṣhu nityaṁ sannihitālaye | tvaṁ brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha dehīnām | Śāṇḍha-mātar bhagavati Durgē kāntāra-vāsini | . . . Svāhalōrah Svadhā chana kalā kūṣṭhā Sarasvatī | Sāvitrī Veda-mātā cha tathā. Vedāntu ūchyate (ūchyase ?) | stutā 's team Mahādevī usuddhenāntarātmanā | Jayo bhavatu me nityaṁ tvat-prasādād raṇājīro | kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālāneṣhu cha | nityaṁ vasaṁ pātūle yuddhe jayasī danavān | tvaṁ Jambhānī Mohinī cha Māyā Hriḥ Sris'tathana cha | Sandhyā prabhūvati chawa Sāvitrī Jananī tathā | Tushṭih Puṣṭir Dhrīṭir Dīptī chandrāditya-varādhinī | bhūtar bhūtatām saṁkhye ūkshyase siddha-śārāṇik |*

"Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Kṛishṇa-pīṅgalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī, reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chāṇḍī, Chāṇḍā, reverence to thee, O Tārīṇī (deliveress), O Varavarṇinī (beautiful coloured), O fortunate Kātyāyanī, O Karālī, O Vijayā, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wield-

<sup>218</sup> The Bhagavadgītā, in which Kṛishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhishma-parvan, vv. 830 ff.

ing sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Kṛishṇa), eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kauṣikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Umā, Śikambharī, thou white one [or Svētā], thou black one [or Kṛishṇā],<sup>4</sup> O destroyer of Kaiṭabha. Reverence to thee, O Hiranyākṣhī, Virūpākṣhī, Dhūmrākṣhī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedāsruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to ( . . . . ?) mountain-precipices and sepulchres. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, O mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,<sup>219</sup> Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou constantly abidest; and conquerest the Dānavas in battle. Thou art Jambhānī (destroyer?), Mohinī, Māyā, Hṛī, Śrī, Sandhyā,<sup>220</sup> the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tusṭi (contentment), Pusṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be]."

In another part of the Mahābhārata, (fourth or) Virāṭa-parvan, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note) addressed by Yudhisṭhira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to "have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims" (*Vindhye chaiva naga-śreṣṭhe tava sthānaṁ hi śūsvatam* | *Kālī Kālī Mahākālī śidhu-māṃsa-paṇu-priye*).

In the Harivaṃsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiṣampāyana that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī's offspring, Viṣṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kālā rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of Time); and

<sup>219</sup> Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvatī, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.

<sup>220</sup> See above, p. 428.



promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśikī, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Viṣṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahiṣhyati sa Vāsavaḥ | Kuśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī tvam bhaviṣhyasi*<sup>221</sup> | *sa te Vindhye naga-sreṣṭhe sthānaṁ dāsyati śāśvatam | ityādi*). Vaiṣampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by rishis of old," beginning *Nārāyaṇīm mamasyāmi devīm tribhuvaneśvarīm* | "I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī, the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 432 f.), such as Śrī, Dhṛitī, Kīrti, Hṛī, Sandhyā, Kātyāyaṇī, Kauśikī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Puṣṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (*jyeshṭhā Yamasya bhāginī*, v. 3271); and it is worthy of remark that she is said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Savaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (*Savarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā*, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (*surā-māṃsa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmiki (comp. pp. 424 f., 428 f.), and Smṛitī (memory) in Dvaipāyana, i.e. Vyāsa (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmike Smṛitir Dvaipāyane tathā*, v. 3285), and among sciences, the science of Brahma or the Veda (*vidyānām brahma-vidyā*, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (*tvayā vyūptam idaṁ sarvaṁ jagat sthāvara-jangamam*, v. 3293).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaiṣnavas) under the protection and patronage of Viṣṇu.

<sup>221</sup> Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11. See the first volume of this work, p. 347 f., and the fifth volume, p. 219.

A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, is also to be found in Harivaṁsa vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛishṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa" (*anantam akṣayaṁ divyam ādi-devaṁ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (*riṣibhir daivataiḥ chaiva vāk-puṣhpaiḥ architāṁ śubham*, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Viṣṇu (*Mahendra-Viṣṇu-bhaginīm*, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Viṣṇuś cha Rudraś cha Chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . kṛitanaṁ jagad idam proktaṁ devyāḥ nāmānukīrtanāt |* "Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-mahātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Viṣṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc. It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityaiva sā jagan-mūrtir tayā sarvam idaṁ tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpattir bahudhā śṛyātām mama | devānāṁ kārya-siddhy-arthaṁ āvirbhavati sā yadā | utpannoti tadā lokaḥ sā nityā 'py abhidhiyate |* "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out; and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Viṣṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidrā*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Viṣṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him, began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction" (*Hari-notra-kṛitālayām | vibhūṣitāṁ jagaddhātṛīm sthiti-samhāra-kāri-*

nīm | *nīdrām bhagavatīm Viṣṇoḥ*). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *tvayaiva dhāryate sarvaṁ tvayaitat sṛijyate jagat | tvayaitat pālyate devī tvam atsy ante oha sarvadā |* "By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end." Again, it is said of her (v. 68 ff.): *Yachōha kinchit kvachid vastu sad read vā 'khlātmake | tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sā tvam kim stūyase tadā | yayā tvayā jagat-sraśṭā jagat-pātā 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nīdrā-vasāṁ nītaḥ kas tvām stotum iheśvaraḥ | Viṣṇuḥ sarira-grahaṇam aham Īśāna eva cha | kārītās te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotum śaktimān bhavet |* "Thou art the power (śakti) of whatever substance, existent or non-existent, anywhere is, O thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom tho Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Viṣṇu, and me (Brahmā), and Īśāna (Śiva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?"

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahiṣa :

Mārķ. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*S'akrādayaḥ sura-gaṇāḥ nihate 'tivrīye tasmin durātmani surārībale cha devyā | tāṁ tushṭvoh pranati-namra-śirodharāṁśaḥ vāgbhiḥ praharsṇa-pulakoḍgama-chāru-dehāḥ | devyā yayā tatam idaṁ jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥśeṣa-deva-gaṇa-śakti-samūha-mūrtyā | tāṁ Ambikāṁ akhila-deva-maharāṇi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vīdādhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananto Brahmā Haraś cha na hi vaktum alam balanoha | sā Chāṇḍikā 'khilajagat-paripālānāya nāśāya chāśubha-bhayasya matiṁ karotu |* "When the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies beautified by horripilation, delighted, landed her with [these] words: 'We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated the various energies (śakti) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chāṇḍikā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Viṣṇu), nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Śiva) is competent to express, de-

termine upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to show the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. (pp. 364, 373 ff., 430 f.), will show that she has now attained a higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of *Daksha* and *Himavat*.



## APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 33, line 19.

In the Uttarakāṇḍa, too, of the Rāmāyaṇa (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatiḥ purā sṛishṭvā apaḥ salīla-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṃ gopāyane sattvān asṛijāt padma-sambhavaḥ |* “The lotus-born Prajāpati, sprung from the waters (or the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;” who, from agreeing to undertake this function, were called Rākshasas (from the root *rakṣh*, “to protect”).

On this verse the commentator remarks: “*Apaḥ sṛishṭvā*” *bhūmer adho-bhāga-ṣṭinīr apaḥ sṛishṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra “salīla-sambhavaḥ” Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . .* “‘Having created the waters:’ the sense is having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the water-born Prajāpati arose: such is the connexion.” . . . He then quotes Manu i. 8 (see p. 30, above), and two other texts from the Veda. See above, p. 24, note.

NOTE B.—Page 65, line 25.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvaṇa, which is given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Aurnabhāva’s interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54a ff. (Bombay ed.)<sup>1</sup>—*Tataḥ paraṃ hemamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya kaṣṭir divaṃ sṛishṭvā śata-yojanam āyatā | jūta-*

<sup>1</sup> Gorresio, iv. 40, 59 ff., has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

*ṛupamayī divyā virajati sa-vedikā* | . . . 57. *Tatra yojana-vistāram uchhrītaṁ daśa-yojanam | śringaṁ Saumanasam nāma jātarūpamayam dhruvam* | 58. *Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtvā purā Viṣṇus trivikrame (trivikramaḥ, Gorr.) | dvitīyaṁ sikhare Merōḥ chakāra puruṣhottamaḥ* | 59. *Uttareṇa parikramya Jambūdvīpaṁ divākaraḥ | drīṣyo bhavati bhū-  
viśiṣṭhaṁ sikharaṁ tad mahochchrayam (drīṣyo bhavati bhūtānām sikharaṁ  
tam upāśritaḥ, Gorr.)* | 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There stands the firm, golden Saumanasa peak, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Viṣṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambūdvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;" (or, 'he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak,' Gorr.).

The commentator remarks on vv. 57 and 58: *Tatra śata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-sikhare* | 58. *Tatra Saumanase śringo trivikrame tribhiḥ padaiḥ trilokyāḥ ākramaṇa-prastāve prathamam padaṁ tatra kṛtvā dvitīyam padam Merōḥ sikhare chakāra* | On v. 59: *Āstānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tan mahochchrayaṁ sikharam Saumanasā-khyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-vartinām bhūviśiṣṭhaṁ drīṣṭo bhavati Saumanasa-sikhare ity arthaḥ | idam satya-yugābhiprāyaṁ tretāyām keśhira-sāgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lankā-madhya-gasya Jambūdvīpa-stha-manushya-drīṣyatāyāḥ anyatroktatvāt* | "'There,' on this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas long. 58. 'There,' on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Viṣṇu] placed his first step, and his second on the summit of Meru." On v. 59 he observes: "After sunset, when the sun has circled round Jambūdvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambūdvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Viṣṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmā-

yāga. Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: *Prasādaścha viśvānāś cha Lankā parama-bhūṣitā | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaiṣṇavam padam* | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Viṣṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Viṣṇu by *ākāśa*. This passage appears to refer to the zenith.

NOTE C.—Page 134, line 34.

It will be observed that in the text of the Bombay edition the two parts of the story, viz. (1) the request of the gods to Viṣṇu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kaśyapa to the same deity that he would become the son of himself and Aditi, are more closely connected than they are in Schlegel's edition by the insertion of the words, "Bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit," which are wanting in Schlegel's text. Further, in the Bombay edition Kaśyapa is made to allude to "the hermitage where the work was accomplished," as if he was himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel's edition. And again, as already noticed in note 129, p. 130, by the omission of the words "thus addressed by the deities," which occur at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's text, the Bombay edition harmonizes the two parts of the story, and removes the appearance of interpolation which Schlegel's text exhibits.

NOTE D.—Page 175, line 33.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3<sup>2</sup> of

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of remark, that in the third section the poet is said to have "seen" all that he narrates in the poem; just as the Vedic rishis are said to have "seen" their hymns (see Nirukta ii. 11<sup>2</sup> *Ruṣhīr darśanāt | stomān dadarśa ity Aupaman-yavaḥ* | "Rishi comes from seeing: he is one who saw the hymns," so says Aupamanyava." See the second volume of this work, pp. 195 and 196; also the third vol., p. 85). Rāmāyaṇa i. 3, 3: *Rāma-Lakṣhmaṇa-Sītābhīṣṭ rājñā Daśarathena cha* |



the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rāma; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvana, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: *Rāvanasya bādhopāye mantrāṇaṁ samudāhṛitam* | 15. *Svargāvataraṇaṁ chaiva surāṇāṁ samudāhṛitam* | *divyā cha pāyasotpattiḥ putra-janma nripasya cha*). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rāma is described as "glorious like Prajāpati" (*Prajāpati-saṁhā śrīmān*, v. 13), and as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon" (*Vishṇunā sadṛśo vīrye soma-vat priyadarśanaḥ*, v. 18). The first of the epithets in the last line would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus on the expression in v. 18: *Yadyapi Rāmo Vishṇur eva sarva-rūpaḥ cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhēdāt sarvatra sadṛśyaṁ drashtavyam* | *yadvā Vishṇunā sadṛśaḥ ity ananvayāṅkalāraḥ* | "Although Rāma was no other than Vishṇu, still, from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*ananvayāṅkalāra*).” See Professor Goldstucker's Dictionary under this word. In regard to the other epithet, "glorious like Prajāpati," v. 13, the commentator similarly observes: *Yadyapi Rāmo Brahma eva tathāpi mānusha-dharmāṇāṁ loka-mohadināṁ māyikānāṁ tatra darśanena aupādika-bhēdam ādāya tat-samatvoktiḥ* | *Bhūrgava-loka-pratibandha-rūpāj*

*sabdhāryeṇa sarāśhṛṇeṇa yat prāptaṁ tatra tattvataḥ* | 4. *Haṁtam bhāṣitaṁ chaiva gaur yāvach cha cheshtitam* | *tat sarvaṁ dhama-vīryeṇa yathāvat samprapadyati* | 5. *Stri-ṛitīyeṇa cha tathā yat prāptaṁ charatā vane* | *satyasandhina Rāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chānavaavakāṣata* | 6. *Tataḥ paśyati dharmātmā tat sarvaṁ yogam āśhṛtaḥ* | *purā yat tatra nirvṛttam pāpāṁ āmalakaṁ yathā* | 7. *Tat sarvaṁ tattvato drishṭvā ityādī* | 3. "Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakshmana and Sītā, to king Daśaratha with his wives and dominions, (4) their laughing, their talking, their fates and their endeavours—all that he sees exactly by the power of righteousness. 5. He also beheld all that happened to the truthful Rāma while travelling in the forest with his wife as the third. 6. Then the righteous (bard), falling into a state of contemplation (*yoga*), sees all that had formerly happened, like an "āmalaka" fruit in his hand. 7. Seeing all this exactly," etc.

*Jaṭāyu-mokṣa-pradāna-rupāt eva saha sarvāyodhyā-vāsi-janasya sa-  
 śarīrasya Brahma-loka-nayana-rūpāḥ cha kārṇāt tat-samatvam |  
 sarvathā svatantrasya eva īdṛśeṣhu योग्यत्वāt |* "Although Rāma  
 was no other than Brahma, still, owing to the circumstance that grief,  
 delusion, and other illusory human attributes, were seen in him,—in  
 reference to this apparent distinctness,—a resemblance is predicated.  
 From the fact that he deprived Bhārgava (Paraśurāma, see above, p. 177)  
 of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jaṭāyu  
 (Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., iii. 68, 37), and that he took with him  
 to Brahmā's paradise the whole of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā in an  
 embodied state, there is a similarity (between Rāma and Prajāpati);  
 since only a being who was in all respects independent of others could  
 be capable of such acts." As instances of Rāma's "illusory human  
 attributes," I may mention his ignorance of Sītā's locality when she  
 had been carried off by Rāvaṇa (Ār. Kāṇḍa 58, 1 ff., Bombay ed.=  
 Gorr. sect. 65), and the consequent search instituted for her discovery  
 (Kishkindhā K. 40, 11 ff., Bombay ed.=Gorr. ed. 40, 9 ff.), and his  
 doubt regarding her purity after she had been rescued from the  
 Rākṣasa's palace (Bāla Kāṇḍa 1, 81 ff., Bombay ed.). There are  
 some phrases in the summary of the poem, in the first chapter of the  
 first book, which are of a hyperbolical character, and do not neces-  
 sarily point to a divine character in Rāma. Thus, in verse 4 the hero  
 about whom inquiry is made is described as one of whom the gods  
 are afraid (*kasya bibhyati devās cha*). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have  
 been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (*pūjitaḥ sarva-devatāiḥ*);  
 while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon  
 from the gods (*devatābhyo varam prāpya*). In verse 32 Rāma and  
 his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and  
 gandharvas (*deva-gandharva-sankūṭāḥ*). In section 2, verse 32, the  
 epithets *dharmātmano bhagavataḥ*, and *dhīmataḥ*, "righteous," "divine  
 or venerable" (an epithet constantly applied to Kṛishṇa, as well as  
 to Buddha), and "wise," are assigned to Rāma. "Bhagavat" need  
 not necessarily mean "divine."

In the text, pp. 170 ff. (see also pp. 165 ff.), following Lassen, I  
 have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth  
 section in Schlegel's edition has some appearance of not having formed  
 a portion of the original poem. It will also be seen from note 164

fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.<sup>4</sup> 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Śarpa (or the ninth lunar mansion), when the sun had risen in Cancer. 16. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā.”

fourth parts [*i.e.* were, together, the fourth part] of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born (17) to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power, and energy. . . . 19. Daśaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Pitāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all.”

The Bombay edition has not the verse which is found as the fifth in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its eleventh verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 175 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz. that the verses which refer to Daśaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakshmaṇa, and Śatrughna, given in vv. 13–15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Daśaratha's

<sup>4</sup> Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.<sup>5</sup> The twelfth verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra,<sup>6</sup> and also the fourteenth verse (Gorr.), in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], sound somewhat strangely as part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was originally contemplated, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth volume, as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the avātara of Vishṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishṇu, and consequently Vishṇu himself in a human form, the epithet 'not inferior to Vishṇu,' which is here assigned to him, has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

Again, it is related in the Āraṇya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rākshāsas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tato devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | ūchuḥ parama-santrastāḥ guhyakāś cha parasparam | chatur-daśa sahasrāṇi rakshasām bhīma-karmānām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā katham yuddham bhaviṣhyati | Rāmo no vidīto yo 'yaṁ yathā cha vasudhām gataḥ | manushyatvaṁ tu matvā 'sya kārūnyād vyathitām manāḥ | nardantīva chamūś teshām rakshasām kāmā-rūpiṇām | nānā-vikṛita-veśūnām Ramāśramam upāgamat |* "Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who

<sup>5</sup> Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (Preface, vol. i., p. lii.).

<sup>6</sup> In the Āraṇya Kāṇḍa 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are compared to the chiefs of the gods, Vishṇu and Vāsava (Indra, *surendrāv ita Vishṇu-vāsavau*) The commentator makes no remark on this.

this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rākshasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, as if shouting.'"

In the Bombay ed. iii. 24, 19 ff., however, most of the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: *Tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kāṅkshayā | 20. Rishayaś mahātmāno loka brahmarshi-sattamāḥ | sametya ohochuḥ sahitās te 'nyonyam punya-karmanāḥ' | 21. Svasti go-brāhmaṇānāṃ loka-nām cheti samsthitāḥ<sup>5</sup> | jayatām Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyaṃ rajanī-charān | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam uktvā punaḥ prochuḥ ālokyā cha paraspāram | 23. Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi rakshasām bhīma-karmanām | ekas cha Rāmo dharmātmā katham yuddham bhaviṣhyati | 24. Iti rūjarshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇās cha dvijarshabhāḥ | jāta-kautūhalās tasthur vimāna-sthās cha devatāḥ | 25. Āviṣṭam tejasā Rāmaṃ sangrāma-śīrasī sthitam | dṛiṣṭvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhayād vivyathire tadā | 26. Rūpam apratimam tasya Rāmasyākliṣṭa-karmanāḥ | babhūva rūpam kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanāḥ | . . . . . 35. Tasya ruṣṭasya rūpam tu Rāmasya dadṛṣe tadā | Dakṣhasyeva kratum hantum udyatasya Pinākinaḥ<sup>6</sup> | 19. "Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis, assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. 'Blessings be upon cows and Brahmanas, and upon the worlds! May Rāma conquer in battle the Rākshasas, the descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:*

<sup>7</sup> *Adīrghatvam ūrṣham* | Comm.

<sup>8</sup> The following is the commentator's note on the last four words of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand. "*Lokānām ye 'bhīṣangatāḥ'*" *iti pāṭhe lokānām lokapālānām sangatāḥ havir-homādi-dvārā upakarakāḥ ity arthaḥ.* "According to another reading, *lokānām ye 'bhīṣangatāḥ'*, the sense is, 'and upon those guardians of the world who have arrived, who aid us by means of oblations, sacrifices,' etc."

<sup>9</sup> This verse, as given in Gorresio's edition, will be found above, p. 373, note.

how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal Asuras, Siddhas, and Brahman risins with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like that of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Dakaha."

From a comparison of these passages, as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Bombay edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishnu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rākshasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Bombay ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Lakshmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa.

In the following citations I shall use the Bombay edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: *Rāma-Lakshmaṇayor eva sarva-dēha-bhīdaḥ śarāṇ | dhṛīṣam āveta-yāmāsa Rāvaṇiḥ samitinjayat | niranantara-śarīrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau*<sup>10</sup> | *kruddhonenḍrajitā vīrau pannagaḥ śaratām gataiḥ | tayorḥ kṣata-ja-mārgaṇa susrāva rudhīram bahu* | . . . 16. *Baddhau tu śara-bāndhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur apokṣitum* | . . . 22. *Papāta prathamam Rāmo viddho marmasu mārga-naiḥ | krodhād Indrajitā yena purā Sakro 'pi nirjitat |* "The son of

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau*, Gorresio's edition (vi. 20, 8) reads *kṛitau tau sāyakau tadā*.



It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakshmi being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

In the next section (the forty-seventh) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa it is related that Rāvaṇa sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Rākshasī Trijatā (v. 14), to the spot where Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, "powerful as the sons of the gods" (*deva-suta-prabhāvanau*, v. 23), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in the course of which she says: 16. "Did not the two sons of Raghu possess the supernatural weapons of Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, and Vāyu, and the Brahma-sīras?"<sup>15</sup> 17. My two lords (though I am now lordless), Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, the equals of Indra, have been slain in battle by an unseen foe, by enchantment. 18. For no foe, though swift as thought, could return living, after he had once been beheld by Rāma in the fight. 19. Nothing can counterbalance the power of Time, and Fate is invincible" (vv. 16 ff: *Nanu Vāruṇam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astrapam Brahma-sīras chaiva Rāgharau pratyapadyata |* 17. *Adṛśyamānena rane māyayā Vāsatoṣamam | mama nāthāv anāthayāḥ nihatau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau |* 18. *Na hi drishti-patham prāpya Rāghavasya rane rūpāḥ | jīvan pratīnavarteta yadyapi syād manojavaḥ |* 19. *Na Kālasya tībhāro 'sti kṛtāntaś cha sudurjayah*). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākshasī Trijatā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: *Nemau śakyau paṇe jetau sendrav api surāsuraiḥ | tādṛśam darśanam drishtvā mayā choditāṁ tava | idāṁ tu sunahach chitraṁ śaraiḥ paśyasva Maṣṭhili | visanyau patitau etau nava Lakshmiḥ vimunohati | prāyeṇa gata-sattvānāṁ puruṣhānāṁ gatāyushāṁ | drisyamāneshu vaktreshu param bhavati vaikṛtam |* "These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder, that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Lakshmi)

<sup>15</sup> The commentator says on this verse: *Pratyapadyata pratyapadyetaṁ | eka-va-chaṇam āśramam |* "nana" staḥ pūrvaṁ tat kim idānīm na smṛitam iti śeṣaḥ.



does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives, and whose breath has departed." While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): *Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata vīryavān | sthiraivāt satva-yogāchoha*<sup>16</sup> *śaraiḥ sandānito 'pi saṁ |* "In the mean time the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame, though he had been bound by the arrows." He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Lakshmana, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: *Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

In sect. 50, Vibhishana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lankā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rājyam prāpsyasi dharmajña Lankāyām neha saṁśayaḥ | Rāvāṇaḥ saha putreṇa eva-kūmaṁ neha lapeyate |* 22. *Garuḍa-dhīḥśiḥstāv etāv ubhau Rūghava-Lakṣhmaṇau | tyaktvā moham badhiḥsyetsa-gaṇaṁ Rāvāṇaṁ rage |* "Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lankā; but Rāvāṇa and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Lakshmana are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvāṇa with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Sushena, to remove Rāma and Lakshmana from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvāṇa, his sons and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost Sṛī (24 f.: *Saha śūraiḥ harigaṇair labdha-saṅgān aśindamau | gachha tvam bhrātaraḥ grihya Kishkindhām Rāma-Lakṣhmaṇau | ahaṁ tu Rāvāṇaṁ hatva sa-putraṁ saha-bāṇdhavam |* *Matthilīm ānayaḥsyāmi Sakro nashṭum iva Sṛīyam*).<sup>17</sup>

Sushena, however, then relates (vv. 26-32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Bṛhaspati by his knowledge and the use of herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring

<sup>16</sup> *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt* Boomm.

<sup>17</sup> In Gorresio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27-41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Bombay ed.

these herbs: The Bombay edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate that a tempest arose, attended with lightnings, and announces the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. In Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Bombay edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11a.—*Athainam upasangamya Vāyuh karmo vacho 'bravit | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānam smara vai hrīdā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhagavān Rākshasārthe 'vatārītaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujam devam Vainateyam mahābalaṃ | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorāt tu yuvam sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanam śrutvā Rāghavo Raghu-nandanah | saṃsāra Garuḍam devam bhujagānam bhayāvahanam |* "Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākshasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents."

The absence of these verses from the Bombay edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, i.e. summoned him. It is true Rāma had been senseless; but he had regained his consciousness so far as to call upon Garuḍa: so that in Gorresio's text it must be implied,—unless we are to suppose it to be inconsistent with itself,—that he again became unconscious. The verses in which this is shown are as follows (Bombay ed. 50, 37 ff. =Gorr. ed. 26, 16 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhipreksya nāgas te vipradu-druvuh | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaiḥ | tataḥ Suparnaḥ Kākutsthau prajñtvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimamarsa cha pañibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṃsprishṭas tayoh samrurukuh<sup>18</sup> vranāḥ | svarṇe cha tanū enigdhā tayoḥ ānu babhūvatuḥ |*

<sup>18</sup> *Yatā-pūrvam saṃrūḍha-māṃsāḥ abhūvan |* Comm.

40. *Tvo vīryam balaṁ chaurjāḥ utsāhataḥ mahāguṇaḥ | pradarśananaḥ  
buddhiśoḥa smṛtiś cha dviguṇā*<sup>19</sup> *tayoḥ | tāv utthāpya mahātejaḥ Garuḍo  
Vāsavopamau | ubhau cha savajo hṛiṣṭo Rāmaś chainam vadaḥ ha |  
bhavat-prasādād vyasanāṁ Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyati-  
krāntau śighraṁ cha balināu kṛitau | yathā tātaṁ Daśarathaṁ yathā  
'janča pitāmahaṁ | tathā bhavantam āsūḍya hṛidayam me prasīdati |*  
44. *Ke bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-śraḡ-ānulepanaḥ* (The last line  
is identical with that in Gorresio's edition) | "Beholding him  
arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows,  
these two heroes had been bound, took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having  
touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his  
hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their  
wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a  
beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy  
became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and  
memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced  
those two [princes] resembling Indra; and Rāma, delighted, thus  
addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have  
quickly got over the great calamity inflicted by the son of Rāvaṇa,  
and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my  
father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who  
art thou,<sup>20</sup> distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands,  
and unguents?' " etc.

<sup>19</sup> In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed., explains this as follows: *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparśāt pūrvato 'py adhikā | atra anyair devair avatīrya bhagavato Rāmasya mūla-mūrtē āmayā upakāraḥ sampāḍito Garuḍena tu eva-rūpataḥ eva itī bodhyam |* . . . "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered by the command of the divine Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but by Garuḍa in his own form."

<sup>20</sup> In his remarks on this verse, the same commentator says. "*Ke bhavān*" *ity ayaṁ praśno 'pi manusehya-śarīrochīta-vyavahāraḥ eva tat-satyatva-pratyāpanārthaḥ | atra Rāma-samipūgamana-paryantam pakṣy-ākāreṇaiva ūgatya sannidhi-mātreṇa nāga-bandhananča nirasya Bāghava-sparśamādy-arthaṁ puruṣhākāreṇa vyavahṛitavān itī bodhyam |* "This question 'who art thou?' also harmonizes with [Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodated to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] appearance in the form of a bird, his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, and his touching Rāma, and ending with his near approach to the latter," etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is distinctly represented as inquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question, Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the bonds of the serpents, which had been turned into arrows by the magic art of Indrajit. He warns him that in dealing with the treacherous Rākshasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvaṇa and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: *Pradakṣiṇaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā parishvajya cha*).<sup>21</sup>

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi., sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, Mandodari, Rāvaṇa's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Datarathātmapaj | ekena yena vai pūrvam bahavo rākshasāḥ hatāḥ* | "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rākshasas have formerly been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur is not, however, to be found in the corresponding section (the fifty-ninth) of the Bombay edition, which omits verses 6-51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Bombay ed.) it is related that Lakshmaṇa was wounded by Rāvaṇa with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105-7); but that when Rāvaṇa tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyāṁ vā sādhumaraiḥ | śakyam bhujābhyāṁ uddhartuṁ na śakyo Bharātāmanaj | śaktyā brāhmyā tu Saumitris tādṛto 'pi stanāntare | Viśṇor amimāṁśya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyānuserat* | "Himavat, Mandara,

<sup>21</sup> From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradakṣiṇaṁ kṛtvā itī anena divya-devatūpātāro Rāmaḥ itī sarvāṇa prārṇata-kapīṇaṁ praty api bodhītam* | "By these words, 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated even to all the ordinary monkeys that Rāma was an incarnation of a celestial deity."

Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata. But Lakshmana, though smitten on the chest with the lance given by Brahmā, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishṇu."<sup>22</sup> Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishṇor bhāgam amīmāṃśyam ātmānam pratyānumaran*. Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88 are *Vishṇor achintya go bhāgo mānushaṁ deham āsthitāḥ* | "The inconceivable portion of Vishṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions. In vv. 122 f. of the same section

<sup>22</sup> The commentator's note on v. 110 is as follows. *Amoghayā Brahma-dattayā stānāntare āhataḥ Saumitriḥ Vishṇor amīmāṃśyam nīlāmśaya-Vishṇu-bhōgatavāntam iyattayā chintayitum aśakyam vā Vishṇor bhāgam ātmānam pratyānumarat anva-smarat | na hi svīyam evam ānasty ity ālayena Brahma-śakti-mūlāya (?) trūṇārtham bhāgavat-tejo' nīśaḥ eva aham asmi iti dhyātavan* | *naṣa-vad angīkṛta-manuṣhyatvasya itarashāṁ drīḍha-praīṭhy-artiha-parāṁ na sarvadā tathā dhyānam | evam cha Brahma-bhāvanayā Lakshmanena eva-śarīrasya garīyastvam ūpādītam ity uktam bhavati* | "Being struck on the breast with the unfailing (dart) given by Brahmā, Lakshmana recollected himself to be indubitably a portion of Vishṇu, or to be a portion of Vishṇu which could not be conceived of as being of such and such magnitude. With reference to the principle that nothing destroys that which belongs to itself, he reflected, with a view to his preservation from the lance of Brahmā (?), that he was a part of the divine energy. As he had, like an actor, assumed the human form, this reflection of his had the object of confirming the belief of others, and it is not (to be imagined) that he always so reflected. And so too by conceiving himself as Brahma, he made his body very ponderous." It is afterwards said in verse 117 that Hanumat took Lakshmana in his arms and carried him to his brother, and that, though he could not be moved by his enemies, he made himself light to Hanumat in consequence of the latter's friendship and devotion. On this the commentator remarks: *Idam cha bhakta-mātra-sugrahatvam bhāgavato bhāgavad-avatūṛṇām cha svabhāva-siddham eva iti bodhyam | evam cha Rāma-Lakshmanayor ajnāna-śaktimatva-tātparyatayā bhāsamānāni vasha-nāni mānusha-vesha-nirvahaṇa-mātra-parāṇi iti bodhyam | tad uktam Bhāgavate* | "Martyāvatūteras tv ita martya-śikhaṇām rakṣo-badhāyaiva na kevalam vidhoḥ | kuto 'nyathā syuḥ ramataḥ sva ātmanāḥ Sītā-kṛpāni vyaasanānīvarasya" | "This capability of being taken up by a devoted person alone is to be understood as resulting from the nature of the Deity and of His incarnations. And so it is to be understood that the expressions which seem to ascribe the capability of ignorance to Rāma and Lakshmana are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying out their characters in their human disguise. This is declared in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (the verse occurs in v. 19, 6, as I learn from Böhtlingk and Roth's reference, s.v. *śikhaṇa*), 'The Lord's incarnation as a man on this earth was meant for the instruction of men, and had not merely in view the slaughter of the Rākshasa. Otherwise, how could the Lord, the Spirit, whose delight is in himself, have undergone the sufferings arising from Sītā?'"

(fifty-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hanumat tells Rāma to mount on his back, as Vishṇu on that of Garutmat or Garuḍa (*Vishṇur yatha Garutmantam āruhya*); and in verse 125, Rāma is said to have rushed on Rāvaṇa as Vishṇu rushed on Vairochana (*Vairochanāṁ iva kruddho Vishṇur ityādi*).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, but spared, and sent back to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat samāno Mahendrena mānuṣheṇa vimirjitaḥ | 6. Idam tad Brahmaṇo ghorāṁ vākyam mām abhyupasthitam | "mānuṣhebhyo vijānīhi bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā | 7. Deva-dānava-gandharvair yaksha-rākṣasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānuṣhebhyo na yāchitam" | 8. Tam imam mānuṣham manye Rāmaṁ Dāsarathātmanjam | Ikṣvāku-kula-jātena Anaranyena<sup>23</sup> yat purā | 9. "Utpatyati hi mad-vaṁśe puruṣo rākṣasādharma | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāsva-sārathim | 10. Nihanishyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulādharma dūrmate" | taptō 'ham Vedavyatī cha yathā sū dharmhitā purā | 11. Seyaṁ Sitā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandinī | Umā Nandīśvaras chāpi Rambhā Varuṇa-kanyakā | 12. Yathoktās<sup>24</sup> tan mayā prāptaṁ na mīthyā rishi-bhāṣhitam | etad eva samāgamya yatnaṁ kartum ihārthatha | "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since*

<sup>23</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 371. "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaranyā, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*tato 'naranyas | taṁ Rāvaṇo dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the second volume of this work, p. 421, note 129, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaranyā is, however, told in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, section 19. Dushkanta (sic), Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [*bhīma-bhīma-kāla-eartino 'pi Dushkantaḍḍayaḥ sva-sva-kāle Rāvaṇam prati jitatva-vādaṁ vara-dānād uktavantaḥ*], yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahmā had given to him (v. 5). Anaranyā, a descendant of Ikṣvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: *Utpatyate kulo hy amina Ikṣvākūṇāṁ mahātmanām | Rāmo Dāsarathīr nāma yas te prāṇān harishyati*).

<sup>24</sup> *Yathoktapantaḥ . . . yad ūchus tan mayā iti pāṭhāntaram | Comm.*

I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when<sup>25</sup> he said]: 'Know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anarāya of the race of Ikshvāku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākshasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavati when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sitā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandīśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa<sup>26</sup> (Punjikasthālā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis<sup>28</sup> is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions."

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākshasas.

[Most of the stories referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anarāya will be found in note 23.]

The rather pretty story of Vedavati is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows: Rāvaṇa, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavati, and is the Vocal daughter (*vāṇmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaṇa, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, sought to woo her, but her father would give her to no one else than

<sup>25</sup> The stories connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

<sup>26</sup> The commentator remarks here: *Rishi-padeṇa tapo-yuktāḥ uchyante* | "The word 'rishi' denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavati and others.

to Vishnu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: *Pitas tu mama jāmātā Viṣṇuḥ kila sureśvaraḥ | abhiprotas trilokas tasmān nānyasya me pitā | dātum vohhats tasmai tu*). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kusadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavati then proceeds (v. 16): *Tato manoratham satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomiti tam evāhaṁ hṛdayena samudvāhe | itī pratīyām āruhya chardāmi vipulāṁ tapaḥ | . . . 18. Nārāyaṇo mama pater na tv anyāḥ puru- shottamāt | āśraye nyamāṁ ghorāṁ Nārāyaṇa-parīpsayā |* “In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.” Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Puru- shottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance.” Rāvaṇa’s passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful will become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishnu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus condemn that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): *Yasmāt tu dharṣitū chūhaṁ tvayā pūpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava bādharikaṁ hi samutpatsyaty ahaṁ (samutpatsyati samut- patsye ity arthaḥ | Comm.) punaḥ | nahi śakyaḥ śtriyā hantum puruṣaḥ pāpa-niśchayaḥ | śāpe tvay. mayoteriṣhte tapasāś cha vyayo bhavet | yadi tv asti mayā kincit kṛitaṁ dattaṁ lutāṁ tathā | tasmāt tv ayoṇi- jā sādhoi bhaveyaṁ dharmīṇaḥ sūtā | evam uktvā pravṛiṣṭā sā jvaliṣāṁ jātavedasam | papāta cha divo divyā pushpa-vṛiṣṭiḥ samantataḥ | saiva Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanayā prabho | tava bhāryā mahābāho Viṣṇus- toṣāṁ hi sanātanaḥ | pūrvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayā ’sau nihatas tayaḥ | upāśrayitvā śailābhas tava vīryam amānusham |* “Since I have been

<sup>22</sup> This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.



again for thy destruction. For a man of evil designs cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were<sup>30</sup> to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.' Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavati in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of king Janaka, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Viṣṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, after she had associated herself with thy superhuman energy." On this the commentator remarks: *Anena Sitā eva Rāvaṇa-badhe mukhyaṁ kāraṇam Rāme tu hantritvam āropitam iti sūchitam* | "By this it is signified that Sitā was the principal cause of Rāvaṇa's death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma." On the words "thou art Viṣṇu," in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: *Anena Sitāyāḥ Lakṣmītvam sphuṭam evoktam | tad uktam Parāśareṇa "Rāghavato 'bhavat Sitā Rukmiṇī Kṛishṇa-janmani" iti* | "By this it is clearly affirmed that Sitā was Lakṣmī. Parāśara says: 'In the god's life as Rāma, she became Sitā, and in his birth as Kṛishṇa [she became] Rukmiṇī.'"

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umā, but the commentator<sup>31</sup> connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.):—After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Saravaṇa, the birthplace of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain, he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then beholds a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily

<sup>30</sup> His words are: *Tatra Umā-jūpaḥ | Karṇāśa-śikhara-ohāḥana-vatāyām Rāvaṇasya strī-nimittam maraṇam ity evaṁ-rūpam ity āhuh* | "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman."

demands who Sankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nāndīśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandīśvara, who was another body (*aparā tanuḥ*) of Śiva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa's race (v. 17: *Tasmād mad-vīrya-saṃyuktāḥ mād-rāpa-sama-tejasah | utpatsyanti badhārthaṃ hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ*). Nandīśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: *Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā bhasṭā Mahēśvaram*). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa's counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa's arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (*rāva*) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the twenty-sixth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chakshur-ādīndriya-gaṇaṃ sarvaṃ* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhadre pradharshitā* | 55. *Tasmāt sa*

*yuvatīm anyāṁ nākamām upayāsyati | yadā hy akāmāṁ kamārta  
dharahayishyati yoshitam | mūrkhā tu saptadhā tasya śakātibhavitā taṁ |*  
“Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been  
forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who  
does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall  
ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split  
into seven fragments.” Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to  
abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter  
of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the  
allusion to her thus: *Varuṇa-kanyakā Punjikasthalā tan-nimittam  
brahma-śāpaḥ strī-dharśhaṇe maraṇa-rūpaḥ |* “The daughter of Varuṇa  
was Punjikasthalā. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving  
the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women.”]

After expressing himself as above (p. 458), Rāvaṇa desires his  
brother Kumbhakarna (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,<sup>29</sup>  
slept for six months at a time, and remained awako for a single day)  
to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbha-  
karna asks (book vi., sect. 60, Bombay ed., vv. 67 ff.) why they have  
awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods,  
but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *Mānushān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulaṁ  
samprabādhate | ityādi*); when he assures them that he will destroy  
their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa.  
After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult  
with his brother Rāvaṇa; who, in answer to his inquiry, describes to  
him (sect. 62) the present position of affairs, and the necessity there  
is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarna, in reply, delivers (sect. 63,  
Bombay ed., vv. 2-21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvaṇa’s  
conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker’s  
antecedents;<sup>29</sup> and is told by Rāvaṇa in answer (vv. 23-27) that this  
is not the time for such laboured lectures, but for action, to which he  
calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions  
to valour. Kumbhakarna then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same  
section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last  
speech of Kumbhakarna, which is given in the forty-second section  
of Gorresio’s recension, that text introduces another speech of

the same personage, which occupies vv. 30-53\* of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvaṇa which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Bombay edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v., p. xlii.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some mention must, however, be made of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarna gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met with in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 168 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rākshasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. vi. 40, 44 ff., ed. Gorr.): *Evam ukte tu vachane Brahmā devān avācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-dāityaischa rākshasair | mūnushēbhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyascha devatāḥ | sura-sura-samūhe 'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād eha Hariḥ devaḥ padma-nābhas trivikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavanto vasiṣṭhāṁ gatvā Viṣṇor asya mahātmanaḥ | vānuraṇām tanuṁ kṛtvā sahayatvaṁ karishyatha* | “When [the priest of the gods Vṛihaspati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: ‘I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility by gods, Daityas and Rākshasas: he has, O gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the Suras (gods) or Asuras. Wherefore let this god (devaḥ) Hari (Viṣṇu), from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Viṣṇu.’” Kumbhakarna says that Viṣṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Viṣṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorr.): *Ko'sau Viṣṇur iti khyāto yasya ivam tāta bibhīyase | devato na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manushyatvaṁ gate tasmin kim bhāyam tvām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhī-tās tu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tvaṁ pūrvaṁ katham padehād namāmy aham | pranamya mānushaṁ Rāmaṁ Sītāṁ datvā tu tasya vai |*

*kāśya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi prishhatah | Rāghavān tam mahā-  
 bāho dīna-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | iddhiṁ cha paśyamāno 'sya katham tadā-  
 yāmi jīvītum | hrītvā tasya purā bhāryām mānaṁ krītvā sudrūṣam |  
 prajamed Rāvaṇo Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayaṁ  
 Viṣṇur Lakshmaṇo 'pi Satakratuḥ | Sugrīvas Tryambakaḥ sākshāt svayaṁ  
 Brāhmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṇy adhitāni yasya te buddhir idrīṣi |  
 atitāstramināṁ Rāmaṁ yo namaskartum ichhasi | devatvaṁ yaḥ parityajya  
 mānushīm yonim āśritah | asmān hantum līlāyātah sa sandheyaḥ katham  
 mayā | yadi vā Rāghavo Viṣṇur vyaktāṁ te śrotram āgataḥ | devatānāṁ  
 hitārthaṁ tu pravishṭo mānushīm tanum | sa vānarāṇāṁ rājānaṁ Sugrī-  
 vaṁ śaraṇāṁ gataḥ | aho 'sya sadṛiṣāṁ sakhyāṁ tiryaggyoni-gataiḥ saha |  
 vīrya-hīnas tu kiṁ Viṣṇur yaḥ śṛitah ṛikṣha-vānarān | athavā vīrya-  
 hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya yūchitas  
 tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dikṣhito yajno tena tvāṁ sakhyam ichhasi | yena  
 dattā mahi sarvā sa-sāgara-vanārṇavā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam sa baddho  
 yajna-dikṣhitaḥ | upakāri hatas tena so 'smān rakṣatī vairiṇah | yadā me  
 nirjitāḥ devāḥ svargaṁ gatvā tvayā saha | tadā kim nāsti Viṣṇutvaṁ tasya  
 devasya Rākṣhasa | sāmprataṁ kutaḥ āyātah sa Viṣṇur yasya bibhīyaso |  
 śārtra-rakṣanārthāya brūṣhe tvāṁ vākyaṁ idrīṣam | nāyaṁ klīvayitūṁ  
 kālaḥ kālo yoddhum niśūchāra | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptaṁ trilokyam  
 vasa-gaṁ kṛitam | Rāghavam prajame kasmād hīna-vīrya-parākramam |  
 tad gachha śayanīyaṁ tvam pīva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānaṁ na  
 hanyāt tvāṁ Rāghavo Lakshmaṇas tathā | ahaṁ Rāmam badhishyāmi  
 Sugrīvaneha sa-Lakshmaṇam | vānarāṁścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahā-  
 rāṇe | Viṣṇunchaiva badhishyāmi ye cha Viṣṇv-anuyūyinaḥ | gachha  
 gachhasva tat kṣetraṁ vīraṁ jīva sukhī bhava | bhrātaraṁ tv evam uktvā  
 'sau Rāvaṇaḥ Kāla-choditah | sāvalepaṁ sa-garjancha punar vachanam  
 abravīt | jānāmi Sitāṁ dharaṇī-prasūtāṁ jñāmi Rāmam Madhusū-  
 dananacha | etad hi jāno tv aham asya badhyas tenāhrītā me Janakātma-  
 jaiṣhā<sup>30</sup> | na kāmāchchaiva na krodhād dharaṇī Janakātmajām | nihato  
 gantum ichhāmi tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam |*

<sup>30</sup> A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvaṇa's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension: *Jānāmi Sitāṁ Janaka-prasūtāṁ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusūdanaṁ cha | Etad hi jānāmi aham asya badhyas tathāpi sandhīm na karomy anena |* "I know Sitā to be Janaka's daughter, and Rāma to be Madhusūdana; and I know this that I shall be slain by him; and yet I cannot make peace with him." Gorresio regards both passages as of doubtful authenticity. "In explanation of the epithet *dharaṇī-prasūtā* applied to Sitā, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.) i. 66, 13 ff., where

“Who is that being called Vishṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sītā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma's wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvaṇa should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Vishṇu himself, and Lakshmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (Śiva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā—O thou hast [well] studied the Śāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill us? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Vishṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Vishṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura Bali three paces of ground, while he was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friend-

Janaka says of his daughter *Atha me kṛṣṭataḥ kṣhetraṁ lāṅgatāḍ utthitā tataḥ* | 14. *Kṣhetraṁ śodhayatā labdhā nānuā Sītā viśrutā bhūtatāḍ utthitā sū tu vyavardhata mamātmayā* | etc. 13. “Now as I was ploughing my field, there sprang from the plough (a girl), (14) obtained by me while cleansing my field, and known by name as Sītā (the furrow). This girl, sprung from the earth, grew up as my daughter.” In the next verse she is styled *ayonyā*, “not born from the womb.” The commentator quotes the following lines from the Padma-purāṇa on the same subject *Aṭha lokaśvari Lakṣmī Janakasya puri evataḥ* | *śubha-kṣetre halothhāta tūre chottara-phūlguṇi* | *ayonyā padma-karā bālāka-śata-sannibhā* | *Sītā-mukhe samuṭpannā bālā-bhāvena sundarī* | *Sītā-mukhodbhavāt Sītā ity aśya nāma chākaroḥ* | *tato 'bhūd auśi tasya Urmilā nāma kanyakā* | *iti* | “Now Lakṣmī, the mistress of the worlds, was born by her own will in the city of Janaka, in a beautiful field opened up by the plough, under the star in the second half of the month Pūlguṇa. She sprang from the womb of no female, with a lotus in her hand, like a hundred young suns, but arose from the opening of the furrow, beautiful, in the form of a child. He gave her the name of Sītā, because she sprang from the opening of the furrow (*sītā*). Then his daughter Urmilā was born by ordinary generation.”

ship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies!<sup>31</sup> When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishṇu? Whence has this Vishṇu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest in this strain to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rākshasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakshmaṇa will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakshmaṇa, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishṇu too, and all Vishṇu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and in a loud tone, Rāvaṇa said again: 'I know Sītā to be sprung from the earth; I know Rāma to be Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishṇu.''' Compare the quotation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, given above, regarding Sītupāla, pp. 215 f., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishṇu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṇa's death, Mandodārī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect 113, 5 ff., Bombay ed.): *Sa tvam mānusha-mātreṇa Rāmeṇa jādhi nirjitaḥ | na vyapatrapase rājan kim idaṁ rākshaseśvara | 6. Kathaṁ trailokyam ākranya śrīyā vīryeṇa chānvitam | aviśahyaṁ jaghāna tvam mānuṣo vana-gocharaḥ | 7. Mānushānāṁ aviśaye charataḥ kāmārūpinaḥ | vināśaḥ tvaṁ Rāmeṇa saṁyuge nopapadyate | 8. Na chaṭat*

<sup>31</sup> Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.

*karma Rāmasya braddadhāmi chamū-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupotasya tava  
tenābhimarṣhaṇam | 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ |  
māyāṁ tava vināśāya vidhāyāpratitarkitām | 10. Athavā Vāsavena toaṁ  
dharṣhito 'si mahābala | 11. Vāsavasya tu kā śaktis toaṁ drashṭum api  
saṁyuge | Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryaṁ deva-śatrum mahaujasam | 12. Vy-  
ktaṁ esha mahāyogī<sup>32</sup> paramātmā sanātanaḥ | an-ādi-madhya-nidhana  
mahataḥ paramo mahān | 13. Tamasah paramo dhātā śankha-chakra-gaḍa-  
dharaḥ | 14. Śrīvatsa-vakeśhāḥ nitya-śrīr ajayyaḥ śūsvato dhruvaḥ | mā-  
nushaṁ rūpam āsthāya Viśhnuḥ satya-parākramaḥ | 15. Sarvair pari-  
vṛito devair vānaratoam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokāṇḍāṁ  
hita-kāmyayā | sa-rākshasa-parivāraṁ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham | 16.  
Indriyāṇi purā jitvā jitam tribhuvanaṁ tvayā | smaradbbhir iva tad  
vairam indriyair eva nirjitaḥ | 17. Yadaiva hi Janasthāne Rākshasair  
bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānushaḥ |*

"5. Art not thou ashamed, O king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rākshasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma, is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kṛitānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). 11. But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast tho mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? 12. This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*),<sup>33</sup> the supreme spirit, the eternal, without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the great (or to Mahat,<sup>34</sup> i.e. Prakṛiti or matter), (13) superior to darkness,<sup>35</sup> the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (14) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who

<sup>32</sup> *Svābhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ* | Comm.

<sup>33</sup> This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodarī from the divine favour (*satyam graṁ Mandodarī jānīte Bhagavat-kṛipayā*).

<sup>34</sup> The commentator does not say in what sense the word *mahat* should be taken.

<sup>35</sup> The commentator says that *tamasah* means *prakṛiteḥ pravartakāḥ*, "he who causes the activity of Prakṛiti (or matter)." Instead of *tamasah*, he adds, some read *tapasaḥ*.



enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (15) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys, the glorious lord of all the worlds, who desired the good of all the worlds. [He ak.w thee],<sup>36</sup> the terrific enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rākshasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered<sup>37</sup> [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. 17. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal."

If this quotation from the Bombay edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5-8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of two verses (the ninth and tenth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Bombay recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows: 9. *Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Viṣṇuś cha vyaṃ āgataḥ | tava nāsāya māyābhiḥ praviśyānupalakṣitaḥ |* 10. *Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rākṣasair bahubhirvṛitaḥ | Kharas tava hato bhṛtā tadavāsau na mānuṣhaḥ |* "Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into him unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth), which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Bombay edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10-15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text,

<sup>36</sup> It is necessary (with the commentator, who says *hatavān iti ślokaḥ*) to supply the words in brackets, or some others of a similar tenor, in order to make sense.

<sup>37</sup> This clause the commentator explains thus: "Purā" *Bhagavad-uddēśena tapo-nuśthāna-kāle | "tad vaśaṃ" svajaya-nimittān vairaṃ smaraḍbhir indriyair akama-pravṛitti-sampādanena nijataḥ |*

which represent Death (*Kṛitānta*), or Indra, as taking the form of Rāma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Viṣṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 12 ff. of the Bombay edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the twelfth and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well enough together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Bombay edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verse 40 of the Bombay edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Bombay edition=verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Viṣṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvaṇa is to be destroyed. After the Rākshasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff., Bombay ed.=sect. 74, vv. 27 ff., Gorresio): *Rudro vā yadi vā Viṣṇur Mahendro vā Satakratuḥ | hanti na Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ | 26. Hata-pravirāḥ Rāmeṇa nirāśāḥ jivite vayam | apaśyanto<sup>38</sup> bhayasyāntam anāthāḥ vilapāmahe | 27. Rāma-hastād Dasagrivaḥ śūro datta-mahā-varaḥ | idam bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannam na budhyate | 28. Tam na devāḥ na gandharvāḥ na piśūḥkāḥ na rākshasāḥ | upasṛiṣṭam<sup>39</sup> paritrātuṁ śaktāḥ Rāmeṇa saṁnyuge | 29. Utpātāśchāpi drīṣyanta Rāvaṇasya rane rane | kathayantr hi Rāmeṇa Rāvaṇasya nibarhanam |*

<sup>38</sup> *Apasanto 'pasāntiyan' | Comm.*

<sup>39</sup> *Upasṛiṣṭam haṭtum ārabdham | Comm.*

30. *Pitāmahena prītena deva-dānava-rākshasaiḥ | Rāvaṇasyābhayaṁ dattam manusebhyo na yāchitam |* 31. *Tad idam mānuṣham mṇīyo 'prāptaṁ niḥsaṁśayam bhayam | jīvitānta-karaṁ ghoraṁ rakshasāṁ Rāvaṇasya cha |* 32. *Pīḍyamānās tu balinā vara-dānena rakshasā | dīptais tapobhir vibudhāḥ Pitāmaham apūjayan |* 33. *Devatānāṁ hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahaḥ | uvācha devatās tushṭaiḥ idam sarvāḥ mahad vacaḥ |* 34. *Ādya-prabhṛiti lokāṁs trin sarve dānava-rākshasāḥ | bhayena prabhṛitāḥ nityaṁ vicāriṣhyanti sāsvatam*<sup>40</sup> | 35. *Daivatais tu samāgamya sarvaiḥ chendra-purogamaiḥ | vṛisha-dhvajas Trīpura-hā Mahādevaḥ pratoshitāḥ |* 36. *Prasanna tu Mahādevo devān etad vacho 'bravūt | utpatsyati hitārthaṁ vo nārī rakshaḥ-kṣayāvahā |* 37. *Eṣhā devaiḥ prayuktū tu kṣud yathā*<sup>41</sup> *dānavān purā | bhakṣa-yiṣhyati naḥ sarvān rākshasa-ghnī sa-rūvaṇūn |* 38. *Rāvaṇasyāpanītena*<sup>42</sup> *durvinītasya dūmatīḥ | ayaṁ niṣṭūnako*<sup>43</sup> *ghoraḥ śokena samabhiplutaḥ |* 39. *Tan na paśyūmahe loka yo naḥ śarana-do bhavet | Rūghavenopasṛiṣṭānāṁ kāleneva yugakṣaye |* 25. "Either Rudra, or Vishṇu, or the great Indra Satakratu, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Rāma. 26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. 27. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa), who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāmā. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Pisāchas, nor Rākshasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by Rāma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṇa are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. 30. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvaṇa security against Gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. 31. This dreadful danger from men has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall

<sup>40</sup> These words are thus explained by the commentator. *Dānavāḥ rākshasāś cha bhayena prabhṛitāḥ devebhyo bhayam bibhrūnāḥ eva vicāriṣhyanti | devāḥ svataḥ parato vā 'mān pīḍayiṣhyanti ity arthaḥ |* "The Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, or through others, could distress them." This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Ādya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtāḥ bhaya-varjitāḥ | bhayārtīs te punar iha vicāriṣhyanti | rākshasāḥ.*

<sup>41</sup> "Purā" *pūrva-kalpe | devay dānava-nāśārtham prayuktū kṣud yathā dānavān harati sma |* Comm. "As formerly," in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by the gods for the destruction of the Dānavas, carried them off."

<sup>42</sup> *Apnītena aneyena |* Comm.

<sup>43</sup> *Niṣṭūnako nāś |* Comm.

terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rākshasas. 32. Now the gods, when oppressed by the Rākshasa (Rāvaṇa), who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. 33. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 34. 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, influenced by fear.' 35. But all the gods, with Indra at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three castles). 36. He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rākshasas.' 37. This female slayer<sup>44</sup> of Rākshasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvaṇa; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Dānavas. 38. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvaṇa this dreadful destruction, accompanied by affliction, has come upon us. 39. We see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages."

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted above (p. 458 ff.) from the *Uttara Kāṇḍa*. Both of those forms of the legend appear to regard Sītā, and not Viṣṇu, as the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa.

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākshasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which, strictly speaking, is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu: \*

*Āraṇya Kāṇḍa* (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Bombay edition — section 35, vv. 93 ff., Gorresio's edition). — *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirādagdhaḥ Sveta-ranye yathā 'ntakaḥ |* 28. *Sa Vṛitraḥ iva vajreṇa phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vendrāṣani-hato nipapāta hataḥ Kharah |* 29. *Etaṣminn*

<sup>44</sup> The commentator remarks here: *Evam Brahmaṇaḥ prāsādāt sabhayatva-mātram prāptam | saṁhārādāhikṛta-Rudra-prasūdena tu nāśaḥ evūsmākam ity āhuḥ |* "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods only obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but through the favour [granted to them] by Rudra, whose function is destruction, we shall be destroyed."

<sup>45</sup> Said to be Sītā, according to the commentator (*vā eshā Sītā eva ity āhuḥ*). Gorresio's text has *Saishā daiva-prasūchitā tu kṣudhītā Janakātmaḥ*, etc.

*antare devās chāraṇaiḥ saha sangatāḥ | dundubhīmśohābhiniḡhantaḥ  
 puṣpa-varṣaṁ samantataḥ |* 30. *Rāmasyopari saṁhṛīṣṭāḥ cavarakur  
 vimitās tadā | ardhādhika-muhūrtena Rāmeṇa nīṣṭaiḥ śaraiḥ |* 31.  
*Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi rakṣasāṁ kāma-rūpinām | Khara-Dūṣhaṇa-  
 mukhyānāṁ nihatāni mahāmṛdho |* 32. *Aho bata mahat karma Rāmasya  
 viditātmanah | aho vīryam aho dārḍhyaṁ Viṣṇor iva hi dṛśyate |* 33.  
*Ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devāḥ yathāgatam |* 27. "Burnt up by  
 the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly con-  
 sumed by Rudra in the Sveta (white) forest."<sup>46</sup> 28. He fell like Vṛitra  
 smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,<sup>47</sup> or like Bala  
 by the lightning of Indra. 29. At this moment the gods, joined with  
 the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, (30) rained on Rāma  
 a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a  
 muhūrta and a half (two hours) (31) fourteen thousand Rākshasas,  
 changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūṣhaṇa, have  
 been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. 32. O what  
 a mighty exploit of Rāma, who knows himself!<sup>48</sup> O, his valour and  
 his firmness are seen to be like those of Viṣṇu!' 33. Having thus  
 spoken, all those gods went as they came."

If the writer of these verses regarded Rāma as an incarnation of  
 Viṣṇu, it would seem to have been superfluous to compare him with  
 that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the  
 thirty-fifth) the several classes of ṛishis are introduced as [among

<sup>46</sup> On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: *Andhakāsurah S'vetā-  
 ranṇe Rudreṇa hataḥ iti purāṇa-prasiddham | . . . "S'vetūranṇe yathā 'ntakaḥ"  
 iti prachurāḥ pūṭhah | tatra Kāvīrī-tīra-vartini S'vetūranṇe Māṇḍeya-chārjavit-  
 vāya Antaka-saṁhāro Rudreṇa kṛtāḥ iti tan-māhātmye prasiddhiḥ | Kaurme tu  
 uttarakhaṇḍe S'vetasya rājarsheḥ paramaśavasya Kālanjaro parvato tapasy abhi-  
 ratasya māraṇḍya ūgatasya Antakasya S'ivena vāma-pāda-prahūreṇa saṁhāraḥ kṛtāḥ  
 iti śaṭtriṁśe 'dhyāye uktam |* "The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the  
 Sveta forest, as is well known from the Purāṇas. . . . The reading, 'as Antaka in  
 the Sveta forest,' is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorifica-  
 tion of Mārkaṇḍeya that, to prolong the life of that sage, Antaka (the Ender, Death)  
 was destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūrma-purāṇa, sect. 36, it  
 is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal rishi Sveta, an eminent votary  
 of Śiva, who was addicting himself to austerities on the Kālanjara mountain, was  
 destroyed by a blow of Śiva's left foot." Compare *al.V. xi. 2, 7*, quoted above,  
 p. 336, where Rudra is called "the slayer of Ardhaka."

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 261, and note 259.

<sup>48</sup> *Viditātmanah*. This epithet is not explained by the commentator.

other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a Kṣatriya (*dharmajna vardhase dīkṣtū kṣatra-dharmena Rāghava*, v. 99), and as saying to him (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were saluting him with congratulations on his victory (*jayāśrībhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars" (*namas chakre vimānasthān dṛiṣṭvā 'dūre divaukasaḥ*).

The following is another passage of the sixth or Yuddha Kāṇḍa occurring in the Bombay edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvaṇa, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will insure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character :

vi. 106, 1 ff. (Bombay ed.): *Tato yuddha-parīśrūtaṁ samare chintayā sthitam | Rāvaṇaṁ chāgrato dṛiṣṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | 2. Daivatais cha samāgamyā dṛaṣṭum abhyūgato raṇam | upagamyūbravīd Rāmam Agastyo bhagavāns tadā | 3. Rāma Rāma mahābāho śṛīṇu guhyaṁ sanātanam | yena sarvān arīn vatsa samare vijayishyase | 4. Āditya-hṛdayam puṇyaṁ sarva-śatru-vināśanam | jayāvahaṁ japan nityam akṣhayam paramaṁ śivam | 5. Sarva-mangala-mūṅgalyaṁ sarva-pāpu-praṇāśanam | chintā-śoka-praśamanam āyurvārdhanam uttamam | 6. Rāsmimantaṁ samudyantaṁ devāsura-namaskṛitam | pūjayasva Vivas-vantaṁ bhāskaram bhuvaneśvaram | 7. Sarva-devātmaḥ hy eṣa tejasvī rāsmi-bhūtaṇaḥ | eṣa devāsura-gaṇān lokān pāṇi gabhastibhiḥ | 8. Eṣa Brahmā cha Viṣṇuḥ cha Śivaḥ Skandaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | Mahendro Dhanadaḥ Kālo Yamaḥ Somaḥ hy Apām̐patiḥ | 9. Pitaro Vasavaḥ Sādhyāḥ Asvinau Maruto Manuḥ | Vāyur Vahnīḥ prajāḥ prāṇaḥ ṛitu-kartū prabhākaraḥ | 10. Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryaḥ kha-gaḥ Pūṣhū gabhastimān | suvarṇa-saḍṛiṣo bhānur hr̥anya-retūḥ<sup>49</sup> divākaraḥ | . . . 26. Pūjayasvainam ekāgro deva-devaṁ jagat-patim | etat triguṇitaṁ japtvā yuddhesu vijayishyati | 27. Amin kṣhaṇe mahābāho Rāvaṇaṁ traṁ jalishyasi | evam uktvā tado 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāgatam | 28. Etach chhṛutvā mahātejāḥ nashṭa, soko 'bhavat tadā | dhārayāmāsa supṛito Rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān | 29. Ādityam prekṣhya japtvedam paraṁ haṛṣhṁ avāḡtāvān | trir āchamya*

<sup>49</sup> Akṣharādhiḥyam 'Arsham | Comm.

*śuohir bhūtvā dhanur adāya vīryavān | 30. Rāvaṇam prekṣhya hṛīkṣātma  
jayārthaṁ samupāgamat | sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhūvat |*

31. *Atha raviḥ avadad nirīkṣhya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam pra-  
hṛīkṣyamāṇaḥ | nīśīcharapati-sankṣayaṁ viditvā sura-gaṇa-madhya-gato  
vachas tvaṛoti |*

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious<sup>50</sup> in the battle, and in his front Rāvaṇa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining the gods, and coming near to Rāma, said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,<sup>51</sup> continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Āditya-hṛidaya ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat,<sup>52</sup> the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Viṣṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasuts, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūrya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant,

<sup>50</sup> The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: *Evam bhaya-nāṣanam tan-mūlakam Agastyūp upadeśa-grahṇam lokanugrahāya lokasya jaya-sādhana-vastu-prakāśanārtham iti tattvam |* "The truth is that this acting (or simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastya founded thereon, originated in kindness to mankind, and in a desire to reveal to them the means of gaining victory."

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 389, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, "my son," applied to him by Viṣṇu. If, then, the poet here intended to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Viṣṇu as less susceptible than Brahmā, when he makes Agastya address him thus.

<sup>52</sup> Compare the hymn to Sūrya in the Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: *Tvām Indram āhuḥ tvām Viṣṇuḥ tvām Rudraḥ tvām Prajāpatiḥ | tvām Agniḥ tvām manāḥ sūkṣmaṁ prabhuḥ tvām Brahmā, śūdratam |* "They call thee Indra; thou art Viṣṇu, Rudra, Prajāpati: thou art Agni, the subtle Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal Brahma."

of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day.\* Then follow (vv. 11-15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15-21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmesānāchyuteśāya*,<sup>53</sup> "to the lord of Brahmā, Īśāna (Śiva), and Achyuta (Viṣṇu)." After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): "Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], a man shall conquer in battles. 27. In this moment, O great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvaṇa.' Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. 28. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. 29. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the here took his bow. 30. Beholding Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. 31. Then the Sun, with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, looking upon Rāma, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rākshasas, and standing in the midst of the gods, uttered the word 'speed.'"

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio's edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred and fifth section of the Bombay edition, is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the second half of the fourth verse of the hundred and seventh section of the Bombay edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connexion; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred and seventh section (Bombay ed.) of an expression repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred and fifth might

<sup>53</sup> *Brahmesānāchyutānām śrīṣṭī-saṁhāra-sthiti-kartṛiṇām īśāya svāmīnaḥ* | "śrīṣṭī-sthity-anta-karaṇīm Brahma-Viṣṇu-Ś'vātmakām sa saṁjñām yāti bhagavān ekaḥ eva Janārdanaḥ" iti smṛiteḥ | "To the lord of Brahmā, Īśāna, and Achyuta, who are the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world); according to the Smṛiti text: 'The divine Janārdana alone receives the conjoint title of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Ś'iva, representing the causes of the creation, continuance and end (of the universe).'" Such is the manner in which the commentator chooses to explain away his text.



lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred and sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma's divine character should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhīṣhaṇa had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma's side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Bombay ed.): *Sa duṣhṭo vā'py aduṣhṭo vā kim eṣha rājanīcharaḥ | sūkṣhmaṁ apy ahitaṁ kartum mama śaktaḥ kathanchana | piśāchān dānavān yakṣhān pṛithivyāṁ chaiva rākṣasūn | anguly-agreṇa tān hanyām ichhan hari-gaṇeṣvara |* "Whether the Rākshasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yakshas, and Rākshasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger."<sup>54</sup> This mode of expression

<sup>54</sup> On this the commentator remarks: *Anena sankalpa-siddhir aiśvaram chihnam uktaṁ | yady evaṁ asmadūdi-sangraha vyarthas tatra ūha "ichham" iti | svasya nīratīśaya-mahimīnaṁ tūttevikam Brahma-bhūvaṁ prakāṣikartum ichhan yadi syāṁ tadā taihaiva kuryām | samprati tu deva-bhūvopeta-niḥ-viśaisair nīśhair "abadhyatvam asya mayariva dattam" iti tat-paripūlanūya eva-divya-bhūvaṁ eva-īaktyā eva antarāhāya mānusha-maryādūyām sthityā tad-bhūva-prakāṣanūya eva Sitā-viyoga-prayukta-rodana-vad, bhavādīśa-sahāya-melanam | vastuto na svātirikta-sahāyāntarāpekṣhā mama | manushyūnām saṁsāra-mamādū-jñāpanam tad-vyavahāra-phalam iti bhāvaḥ |* "By this [phrase 'with the tip of my finger'] the accomplishment of an intention is declared to be the mark of the Deity. If thus the efforts of persons such as we [men] are, be vain,—in regard to this the author says, 'If I wish,' If I be desirous to manifest my own surpassing greatness, my real character as Brahmā, then I can do this. But now, with the view of maintaining my fiat, [declared in the words] 'I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility,' which I issued agreeably to all the sportive manifestations of my divine nature, suppressing that celestial nature through my own power by remaining within the limits of humanity, with the view of displaying that character, I have associated with myself such allies as you, (Sugrīva), just as I went for my separation from Sitā. In reality I have no need for any other ally but myself. To show to men the limitations of worldly existence is the fruit of my so acting. Such is the purport." The meaning of this passage is clear, though I may not have succeeded in accurately rendering all the phrases in it.

rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (*śakto 'hañ sahasā hantūñ divyenāstra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 103 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa.<sup>65</sup> Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (103, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great Rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma. He is admitted and received with honour (v. 8), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to be slain by Rāma (v. 11 f.). Rāma promises to abide by this, informs Lakshmaṇa of it, and desires him to stand outside (v. 13 f.). Time then tells Rāma (104) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Viṣṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4-7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Viṣṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years (v. 11 f.): that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 14 f.). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable Rishi Durvāsas<sup>66</sup> comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmaṇa asks him to wait a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma, his city, kingdom,

<sup>65</sup> All the references to this Kāṇḍa apply to the Bombay edition. I have not seen Gorresio's edition of this book.

<sup>66</sup> Compare p. 106, above.

and all his family (105, 1 ff.). Lakshmana, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 9). Rāma dismisses Time, comes out, and receives Durvāsas, and when the sage has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that Lakshmana should die (vv. 10-16). Lakshmana, however (106, 2 ff.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to slay him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors who are consulted concurring in this advice (vv. 5 ff.), Rāma abandons Lakshmana, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses (*nigrihya sarva-srotāṃsi*), and after the gods had showered down flowers upon him, is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven (vv. 15 ff.). The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishṇu (v. 18). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Lakshmana (107, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 5 f.). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kuśa and Lava, Rāma's two sons,<sup>67</sup> are then installed as kings of the Southern and Northern Kośalas (vv. 17 ff.). Messengers are sent to Satrugṇa, the other brother, at Madhurā, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (108, 1-14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and to ease, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the form of Brahmans, by the all-protecting Āyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashaṭkāra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (*i.e.* Brahmans, *mahisurāḥ*), by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (*varshavarāḥ*), and servants. Bharata with his wives, and Satrugṇa, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and accompanied by their families, with the ministers of state, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, and birds, etc., etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 110). Brahmā, and all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appear,

<sup>67</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 318 (Dr. Hall's ed.).

and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour of their ap-  
 parition. Pure, fragrant, and delightful breezes blow, a shower of  
 flowers falls, thrown by the gods. While hundreds of musical instru-  
 ments sound, and the air is crowded with Gandharvas and Apsarases,  
 Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice  
 from the sky, saying: "Approach, Viṣṇu; Rāghava, thou hast  
 happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body  
 thou pleasest, thine own body as Viṣṇu, or the eternal ether. For  
 thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends  
 thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā,  
 thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory  
 of Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇavaṁ tejas*) with his body and his followers; and  
 is worshipped by the gods, rishis, etc. He then asks Brahmā to find  
 an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to  
 his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly  
 (*lokān santānakān*).<sup>66</sup>

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the  
 Mahābhārata, which in the Droṇa-parvan 2224-2248, refers to Rāma  
 as one of the great kings of old, merely speaks in v. 2246 of his going  
 to heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajāḥ Rāmaḥ  
 svargam nitvā divaṁ gataḥ*). He is, however, celebrated in the most  
 hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have trans-  
 cended all beings, rishis, gods, and men" (*Ati sarvāṇi bhūtāni Rāmo  
 Dāśarathir babhau | rishinām devatānām cha mānushānām cha sarvaśaḥ*),  
 but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The  
 word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 may mean only "lord," and  
 need not be employed in the sense of "god." (This passage is re-  
 ferred to in Professor M. Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 104.)  
 The Rāmopākhyāna (see further on) in the Mahābhārata does not  
 describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages  
 which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is

<sup>66</sup> These worlds are explained by the commentator as realms an abode in which  
 gradually leads to final liberation by the attainment of Brahmā's heaven (*Kramam  
 Brahma-loka-prāpti-dvārā mukti-janakān*). ,

greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator an Kishk. K., sect. 43 (Bombay ed.), remarks on 46 ff. : *Itaḥ uttaram kechit ślokāḥ "ramante satataṁ tatra nārībhiḥ bhāṣvara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakṣiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshu dñupalambhād iti Katakāḥ* | "Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,' are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies."

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa the commentator remarks: *Itaḥ param pancha-sargāḥ prakṣiptāḥ bodhyāḥ* | "After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected." On these sections, to which he assigns separate numbers, he gives no commentary. In the first of these sections, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the thirty-seventh section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad-uttaram Bālī-Sugrīvotpattitihāso Rāvaṇasya Svetadvīpa-gamanetiḥāsaś cha latipayaḥ sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu drīṣyante* | *te tu pūrva-sargānto eva Agastyasya svāśrama-gamana-kathanād asangatāḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anāḍṛitatvāch cha mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ* | "That which follows—viz. the tale of the birth of Bālī and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṇa's journey to Sveta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in several sections. But as these sections are inconsistent with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (36, vv. 51, 58 f.) of Agastya's departure to his hermitage, and have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], I also have left them uncommented." These sections are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 59, he remarks: *Etad uttaram svamātur akhyānaṁ gṛdhrolūkhākhyanāncha kvachid drīṣyate* | *Tīrtha-Katakādy-asprīṣṭatvena prakṣiptam iti na vyākhyātam* | "The story of the dog's mother and that of the vulture and owl which follow, are found in some copies: but as they are left untouched by Tīrtha, Kataka, and others, they are rejected, and consequently have not been explained."

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded by the commentators as

spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, of interpolating legendary works such as the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the *Mahābhārata* confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 180 ff.,<sup>99</sup> Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. v., Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question" (whether the idea of the incarnation of Viṣṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). "The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The *Mahābhārata* also contains a history of Rāma, (*Rāmopākhyāna*) which is told to Yudhishtira by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, in the *Vana-parvan*, vv. 15872-16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens.

<sup>99</sup> On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Viṣṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of *Krishna*, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881-15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Gaviputra Vaiśravaṇa (v. 15883). The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him to be the god of riches, with Lankā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle (vv. 15886 ff.). His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, reproduced the half of himself in the form of Viśravaṇa, vv. 15884 (*tasya kopāt pitā rājan saśarjātmānam ātmanā | sa jayno Viśravāḥ nāmu tasyātmārdhena vai dvijaḥ*) and again, v. 15889: *Pulastyasya tu yaḥ krodhād ardhadeho 'bhaveḍ muniḥ | Viśravāḥ nāma ityūḍi*). This Viśravaṇa looked upon Vaiśravaṇa with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father<sup>60</sup> (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhishana; and Rākā, who bore Khara and Sūrpanakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Khara and Sūrpanakhā) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons (except that of immortality).<sup>61</sup> He ordained that Rāvaṇa should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa, who was influenced by the quality of darkness (*tamas*), should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep<sup>62</sup> (*sa vacre*

<sup>60</sup> Viśravaṇa is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viśravaṇa after the birth of Vaiśravaṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father in his original form as Pulastya. Vaiśravaṇa means the son of Viśravaṇa, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhishana, who must have been the son of Viśravaṇa, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930.

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 223 and p. 481 below.

<sup>62</sup> This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 468) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse. •

*mahatām nidrām tamasā grasta-chetanah*, v. 15916). Vibhishana asks, that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the Brāhman's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned.<sup>43</sup> Brahmā promises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhishana follows his brother<sup>44</sup> (v. 15925) Kuvera, who had retired to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having been installed as king, and begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Viṣṇu, the chief of

<sup>43</sup> *Asikṣhitaneha bhagavan Brahmāstram pratidhātu me* | See the second volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 416, where the sense of the line is not correctly rendered. See the note on a similar line from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 489. In v. 15887 Vibhishana is said to be the handsomest of Pulastya's sons (*rūpeṇa sarvebhyaḥ bhayadhikah*), and a protector of righteousness, and practiser of religious rites (*dharma-goptā kṛtyūratiḥ*).

<sup>44</sup> In v. 16157 f. Vibhishana is said to dwell, shaded by a white umbrella, and with white garlands, on the S'vetapārvata, or, "white mountain," attended by his four counsellors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumdhakarna, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314 f. he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected by Sugrīva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rām., vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sundara Kāṇḍa, 89, 1-43) forty-two verses are introduced between the two lines which make up the first verse of the 17th section of book sixth in the Bombay ed. That verse states that after addressing some harsh words to Rāvaṇa, Vibhishana came immediately to Rāma. Gorrasio's text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhishana first tells his mother all that had happened, and then went through the air to Kailāsa, the residence of Vaidravana (Kuvera, v. 4). Before his arrival, however, Mahādeva had gone with Umā and his attendants to the abode of Kuvera (vv. 6 ff.), had dismounted from his bull, and entered the assembly; when the two gods embraced each other, sat down, and began to play at dice. At this juncture Mahādeva sees Vibhishana approaching, and tells Kuvera that he has come to seek his protection, but that he ought to go to Rāma, who would install him as monarch of the Rākshasas (vv. 11 ff.). Vibhishana arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana remains thoughtful (v. 36). Mahādeva again addresses him (v. 37), and tells him to "rise and resort to the ancient lord, the imperishable, the support of all beings, the eternal, the irresistible, the treasury of righteousness, the refuge of those who seek him, the root of the whole world, Rāma" (v. 39) (*Tasmād uttiṣṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam | ādhāraṁ sarva-bhūtānām śāśvataṁ niracagraham*).<sup>45</sup> *Sa hi dharma-nidhānaḥ cha gaur gatimatāṅś varah | kṛtsnasya jagat mūlaṁ tasmād gachhava Rāghavam*). Vibhishana hereupon rises, makes obeisance to the two gods, and goes to Rāma through the sky (vv. 41 ff.).



warriors, should, by his (Brahmā's) appointment, descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham avatirno 'sau man-niyogāḥ caturbhūjāḥ | Viṣṇuḥ praharatām treshṭhāḥ sa tat karma karishyati*). No account is, however, given of the way in which Viṣṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to be born on earth, and beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Viṣṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions and instructions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhī, who was born on earth as the hunchbacked Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15934 f., and 15960 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, formed an original part of the poem, I need not attempt to decide; but an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asi tatra Nalo nāmo vānarah silpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanūya balavān Viśvakarmanah |* "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Bombay edition, in these words: *Ati Sītāyāḥ Lankā-pura-praveśam Anā Rāvaṇa-bādhasyāsak-yatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛta-kubjā-veshayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛttim . . . . vaktum upakramate |* "Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa's inauguration, etc." Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarna as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a

boon.<sup>60</sup> The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy, noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 415, note 193.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākshasas (vv. 16570 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 180 ff.). The last act of his which is described (vv. 16600 f.) is the celebration of ten aśvamedhas. No reference is made to his death.

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled from the east, west, north, and south, to greet him (1, 1 ff.), and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Krita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, and who was like his father, being teased with the vicinity, sports, singing, and dancing of different dārgsels, who interrupted his austerities,<sup>61</sup> proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage, on the side of Mount Meru, should become pregnant. The others kept

<sup>60</sup> The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage referred to above (461 f.), is in this episode briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvaṃ a-iṅṇena rakshāṇā hy asi nandini | śapto hy eṣha purā pāṇo badhūṃ Rambhām parāmriṣhan | na śaknoṇy avadūṃ nārīm upastum apitendriyaḥ* | "Thou art protected, charming one, (i.e. Sītā) by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa), having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman." See also v. 16563 f.; and p. 463 f., above.

<sup>61</sup> "Not intentionally," says the commentator on v. 8, "but like (dried) grass and fire" (*tripṛṣṇāgni-nyāyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam*).

at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Tṛiṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was, like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa = Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). The latter performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and, at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rākshasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Viṣṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rākshasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin (v. 4. *Pulastya-vaṁśād udbhūtāḥ rākshasāḥ iti naḥ śrutam | idānim anyataś chūpi sambhavaḥ kirtitas tvaya*). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Viṣṇu. Hearing the polished (*saṁskārāṅkṛitam*)<sup>67</sup> words of Rāma, Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings—some of whom received the name of Rākshasas—to guard them.<sup>68</sup> The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Sālankaṭankaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Śiva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as mature as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a city which moved through the ether. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rākshasa women the power of immediate conception and parturition, and to their children instant maturity equal

<sup>67</sup> See the second volume of this work, pp. 167–169.

<sup>68</sup> See Note 1, p. 439.

to that of their mothers (v. 30 ff.). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumālī, and Mālī (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12), and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods and Asuras (16). Viśvakarman, at their request, gave them a city, Lānkā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built (vv. 18 ff.). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramuṣṭī, Virūpākṣa, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anala (v. 35 ff.). Sumālī's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikāṣa, Kalikāmukha, Dhūmrākṣa, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Praghosa, Bhāsa, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkāṣā, Kaikāṣī, and Kumbhīnāṣī (vv. 39 ff.). Mālī's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampātī (v. 43). The three Rākshasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, with their sons, continue to oppress the gods, rishis, etc. (v. 44), who (sect 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva, "the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds" (*Jagat-śriṣṭy-anta-kartāram ajam avyakta-rūpiṇam | ādhāraṁ sarva-bhūtānām*), who, having regard to his protégé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rākshasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Viṣṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). One of the three Rākshasa kings, hearing of this, informs his brothers, and, after consultation (v. 23 ff.), they proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46), unterrified by the portents which were manifested (vv. 53 ff.). Viṣṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rākshasas are defeated by Viṣṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Lānkā, one of their leaders, Mālī, being slain (vv. 42 ff.). Mālyavat remonstrates with Viṣṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct (*na jānīṣhe kṣātrāṁ dharmam purātanam*),<sup>60</sup> and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

<sup>60</sup> The next verse (4) adds: *Parāṇmukha-vadhām pāpam yaḥ karoti sureśvara | asanti na gataḥ sargaṁ labhate punya-karmṇām |* "The slayer who wickedly slaughters foes who have turned their backs, after his death does not attain to the heaven of the meritorious."

Vishnu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rākshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumālī are driven into Lankā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishnu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rākshasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumālī with his family lived for a long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumālī once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikāsi to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously (vv. 18 ff.). She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakārṇa (v. 34), of Sūrpanakhā, and of the righteous Vibhishana, who was the last son (v. 35),<sup>70</sup> and whose nativity was followed by a shower of celestial flowers, by the sound of celestial drums, and exclamations of delight in the air (v. 36). These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakārṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Vibhishana lives in the practice of duty, the study of the Veda, and temperance, and controls his senses (v. 39). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikāsi takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokārṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws one of his heads as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He performs this oblation nine times at equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men, etc.; which boon is accorded by Brāhmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhi-

<sup>70</sup> This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 482), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here) is also a son of Viśravas.

shana (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 483) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the Brahman's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned; and that in every stage of life his aims may be righteous" (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharmo mayamātir bhavet | asikshitāncha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*<sup>11</sup> | *yā yā me jāyate buddhir yeshu yeshu āśrameshu cha | sū sū bhavatu dharmishṭhā taṁ taṁ dharmam cha pālaye*). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarna, the gods interpose (v. 35 ff.), as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; if he has done this without receiving any boon from Brahmā, he would, if he should obtain such a favour, devour the three worlds; and they end by suggesting that under the guise of a boon stupefaction should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brahmā's command (v. 42. *Pāṇi tvam Rāksasa-sन्द्रasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarna, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks, when desired to choose a favour, that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).<sup>12</sup> When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has

<sup>11</sup> The commentator explains these last words thus. *Asikshitaṁ sad-gurūpadesaṁ vināpity arthah | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varāṇam asiksha-brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-niruttaye* | "Unlearned, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahman's weapon is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge." The commentator also says that by *dharme* ("righteousness") in the first line is meant Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), according to the saying, 'Rāma is the incarnate righteousness': as looking to what follows, the passage would otherwise be tautological (*"Dharme" Nārāyaṇe matir bhavet | "Rāmo vigrahaṁ dharmāḥ" ity uktor atra dharmā-padena Nārāyaṇah | anyathā "sū sū bhavatu dharmishṭhā" ity anena paunaruktyāṁ syāt* |

<sup>12</sup> The commentator remarks here: *Evam iti | atra śaṅ-māsād arvāk jāgarāṇāṁ na iti nyamāḥ | tad-adhikā 'pi mārā tu bhavaty eva iti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | atah eva śaṅ-māsān evāpiti iti pūrvam Vibhīṣhanoktyā varahāny anekāni iti Kumhakaṅoktyā cha pūrvoktasya na virodhaḥ* | "In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarna should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīshana that 'he sleeps six months,' and Kumbhakarna here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."

been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, on the demand of Rāvaṇa, and by his father's advice, gives up the city of Lankā to Rāvaṇa (sect.<sup>o</sup> 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. *Asau punar vyākaraṇaṁ grihishyan sūryonmukhaḥ prashṭu-manāḥ kapīndraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ |* 45. *Sa-sūtra-vṛitty-ārtha-padam mahārthaṁ sa-sangrahaṁ sīdhyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadṛśo 'sti śāstre vaiśārāde chhanda-gatau tathaiva | sarvasu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspar-dhate 'yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṇām |* 44. "Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on inquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz. the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*vṛitti*), the vārttika (*ārtha-pada*), the Mahārtha, and the Sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer udaya-girer mahad grantham dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhataḥ cha grihṇan | dhārayan aprameyaḥ iti nuḍ-abhāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-sūmmukhyārthaṁ tāvad gamanam |* 45. *Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha "sa-sūtra" iti | sūtram aṣṭādhyāyī-lakṣhaṇam | vṛittis tātkalika-sūtra-vṛittih | ārtha-padam sūtrārtha-bodhaka-padaḥ vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāṣhyam Patanjali-kṛitam | "sa-sangrahaṁ" Vyāḍi-kṛiṣa-sangrahaḥkhyā-grantha-sahitam | "sīdhyati vai" siddho bhavati śāstrāntareṣu apity arthaḥ | tad evāha | na hy asya sadṛśaḥ śāstre kaśchit "chhanda-gatau" pūrvo-ttara-mīmāṃsā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṇaye "vaiśārāde" vṛiddhyo | viśishya navama-vyākaraṇa-kartā Hanūmān iti cha prasiddhir iti Katakāḥ |* "From the mountain where the sun rises, 'holding,' apprehending in sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated *n* in *dhārayan aprameyaḥ* is vedic (*ārsha*). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (*aṣṭādhyāyī*). The *vṛitti* is the contem-

poraneous gloss on the sūtras (sūtra-vṛitti). The *artha-pada* is the *vārttika*, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras; the *Mahārtha* is the Mahābhāṣya composed by Patanjali. 'With the *sangraha*' means with the book called Sangraha, composed by Vyādi. 'He is perfect' means he excels in other sūtras also, as the author goes on to say: 'for no one is like him in the sūtras, in ascertaining the sense,' in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā. 'In skill,' i.e. in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kataka's explanation."

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

NOTE E.—Page 261, note <sup>259</sup>, line 3 from bottom.

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikobhyaḥ prāyachhat | tam aślīlā vāg abhyavadat | so 'suddho 'manyata | sa etat suddhāsuddhiyam apaśyat | tena aśudhyat* | "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him" [charging him with the murder of Brāhmins, according to the Commentator]. "Ho recognized himself as unclean. He beheld this 'Suddhāsuddhiya,' [a particular sāman text] and became purified." The story is repeated further on in the same Brāhmaṇa xviii. 1, 9, where it is said that instead of beholding the "Suddhāsuddhiya," Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the "Upahavya" (*Prajāpatim upādhavat | tasmai etam upahavyam prāyachhat*). This story of Indra and the Yatis is alluded to in Ait. Br. vii. 28, which is quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 437 f. It is also referred to in the Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, and xiii. 8, 17. The latter passage is as follows: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikobhyaḥ prāyachhat | teshāṃ trayāḥ udatishyanta Prithuraśmir Bṛihadgiriḥ Pāyovājaḥ | te 'bruvan "ko naḥ imān putrān bharishyati" iti | "aham" iti Indro 'bravīt | tān adhinidhāya parichārya charan vardhayaṃ tān vardhayitva 'bravīt "kumārakāḥ varān vrinidhvam" iti | "kshatram mahyam" ity abravīt Prithuraśmir | tasmai etena pātharaśmena kshatram prāyachhat | kshatrakāmaḥ etena stuvitṛ | kshatrasya iva asya prakāśo bhavati | "Brahmavarchasam mahyam" ity abravīt Bṛihadgiriḥ | tasmai etena bṛihadgireṇa brahmavarchasam prāyachhat | brahmavarchasa-kāmaḥ etena stuvitṛ | brāhmavarchasā bhavati | "paśūn mahyam" ity abravīt*



*Rāyovājāḥ | tasmai stena rāyovājīyena paśūn prāyachhat | paśukamaḥ stena stuvīta | paśumān bhavati |* 18. *Pārtharaśmaṁ rājanyāya brahma-sāma kuryāt bārhadgiram brāhmaṇīya rāyovājīyaṁ vaiśyāya | svena eva enāṁś tad-rūpeṇa samardhayati stomaḥ |* "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. Three of them were left, Prithuraśmi, Bṛihadgiri, and Rāyovāja. They said, 'Who will cherish these persons, us, as sons?' 'I,' said Indra. Having placed them [on his car, according to the comm.], he went on tending and rearing them. When he had reared them, he said, 'Youths, choose boons.' Prithuraśmi said, 'May regal power be mine!' He accordingly gave him regal power by means of this 'pārtharaśma' sāman. Let the man who desires regal power offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains distinction like that of regal power. Bṛihadgiri said, 'May Brahmanic lustre be mine!' He gave him Brahmanic lustre by means of this 'bārhadgira' sāman. Let him who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains it. Rāyovāja said, 'Let me have cattle!' He gave him cattle by means of this 'rāyovājīya' sāman. Let him who desires cattle offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains them. 18. Let a 'pārtharaśma' be the 'brahma-sāman' performed for a Rājanya, a 'bārhadgira' that for a Brahman, and a 'rāyovājīya' for a Vaiśya. The 'stoma' thus brings prosperity to each of them after his own fashion." The Yatis are declared by the commentator on Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, to be persons "who practised observances contrary to the Veda" (*veda-viruddha-niyamopetān*); on xiii. 4, 17, to be "the persons so called who were hostile to sacrifices" (*etat-sañjakān yajna-virodhi-janān*); on xiv. 11, 28, to be "persons hostile to rites" (*karma-virodhi-janān*); and on xviii. 1, 9, to be "Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotiṣṭoma and other sacrifices, but lived in another way" (*jyotiṣṭomādy akṛitvā prakārantareṇa vartamānām brāhmaṇān*). The Yatis are also mentioned in the Taitt. Saṁhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: *Yatinām adya-mānānām śirśhāni parāpatan | te kharjūrāḥ abhavan |* "The heads of the Yatis who were being eaten fell off. They (the Yatis) became date-trees." In the same Saṁhitā, vi. 2, 7, 5, they are again referred to thus: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyāḥ prāyachhat & tān dakṣhiṇataḥ uttaravadyāḥ ādan |* "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals: they devoured them on the south side of the northern altar." On the former of these texts the commentator remarks as follows: *Pāramahāṁsya-rūpaṁ cha-*

*turthāśramam prāptānāṃ yeshāṃ Yatīnāṃ mukhe Brahmātmaka-pratī-  
pādaḥ vedānta-śabdo nāsti tūn Yatīn Indraḥ āraṇyebhyaḥ tvabhyāḥ  
prāyachhat | tathā Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣadī Indrasya pratijñā  
samāmnāyate “Arunmukhān Yatīn sūlāvrikēbhyaḥ prāyachham” iti |  
patitātīvāt teshāṃ tathātvaṃ yuktam | tathā oha smaryate “nitya-karma-  
parityajya vedānta-bravaṇāṃ vinā | vartamānas tu sannyāsī pataty eva  
na saṁśayaḥ” iti | teshāṃ cha sūlāvrikair bhakṣhaṇāṃ shashṭha-kūṇḍe  
samāmnāyate . . . iti | vedānta-bravaṇa-vāñchhām vinā nitya-karma-  
parityaktavatām bhavatām api idrīṣī gatiḥ iti darśayitūṃ vedi-samipe  
bhakṣhaṇam eva | “Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatīs in  
whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life  
[āśrama], that of Paramahāṁsas) the word of the Vedānta [or  
Upanishads] which sets forth that the soul is Brahma, was not found.  
Accordingly Indra’s declaration that he ‘gave up the Arunmukha Yatīs  
to the jackals is recorded in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad”  
(iii. 1; see p. 161 of Prof. Cowell’s translation in the Bibliotheca  
Indica). “In consequence of their fallen condition, it was fit that  
this should have been done: according to the text of the Smṛiti, ‘A  
Sannyāsīn who lives in the neglect of the fixed observances, and with-  
out hearing the Vedānta [or Upanishads], sinks without doubt into a  
fallen condition.’ And the fact of the Yatīs being eaten by jackals  
is recorded in the sixth book (of this Saṁhitā, as quoted above). The  
circumstance of their being devoured near the altar is intended to show  
that the same fate awaits you gentlemen also, who live without desiring  
to hear the Upanishads, and in the neglect of the fixed ceremonies.”  
From Prof. Cowell’s note in the Kaushītaki Br. Up. transl., p. 161,  
it appears that Sāyana, the commentator on the Ait. Br. vii. 28,  
regarded the Yatīs there mentioned as being Asuras in the disguise of  
devotees, and the Arurmaghas referred to there as being Asuras in the  
form of Brahmans. Prof. Cowell adds in a second note that the com-  
mentator (in the Kaush. Br. Up.) “explains the Arunmukhas” (there  
mentioned) “as those in whose mouths the reading of the Vedas is  
not;” and observes that “they and the Arurmaghas of the Ait. Br.  
are equally obscure.” See the remainder of the note, and Prof. Haug’s  
note on the latter passage in his translation of the Ait. Br., p. 483 f.  
He thinks the Arurmaghas “were no doubt a kind of degraded Aryas,  
very likely a tribe of the ancient Iranians,” etc.*

NOTE F.—Page 310, note <sup>19</sup>.

In regard to this note I have been favoured with a communication from Prof. Roth, who is of opinion that there are two substantives *śruvas*, as there are two roots *śru*. There is not only, he considers, a root *śru*, "to hear," but a second *śru=śru*; and there are, he adds, a number of passages where the sense "renown," traditionally ascribed to *śruvas*, however wide this idea is, and in however forced a manner it may be applied, does not suffice. The forthcoming fasciculus of his Lexicon will, Prof. Roth informs me, supply details on this subject.

Wilson, Westergaard, and Williams, in their Dictionaries, give a second *śru* as equivalent to *śru*, "to move," "to flow," etc. Prof. Aufrecht is of opinion that in addition to *śru*, "to hear," there is another root *śru*, with the meaning "to quake," "to shake," "to tremble." This root, he states, occurs only twice in the whole Vedic literature which we have before us. The passages in which it is found are R.V. i. 127, 3: *Vīlu chid yasya samrītau śruvad vaneva yat sthīram* | "Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;" and R.V. i. 39, 6: *Ā vo yāmāya prathivī chid āsrpt* | "Even the earth trembled before your rush." From this root is derived *grona*, "lame." Prof. Aufrecht does not think that in any Vedic passage the root *śru* has the meaning of *śruvati*, "to flow." In his note on the former of these two passages, Sāyana explains *śruvat* by *gachhet*, *śīryeta*, i.e. "will move," "will crumble."

## NOTE G.—Page 412, line 19.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rām., Bombay ed. vi. 113) his queen Mandodari, among other attributes which she ascribes to him, speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetūraṁ lokapālāṇāṁ ksheptūraṁ S'ankarasya cha*, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Sankara." Sankara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandiśvara, quoted in the Appendix, above, p. 460 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sankara.

NOTE H.—Page 418, note <sup>100</sup>.

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, as

given in the twenty-seventh and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra tells the gods to get ready for battle; but, being afraid, resorts to Viṣṇu (sect. 27, 6), whom he glorifies as the Creator and the Being into whom all things are absorbed at the end of the world, and asks his advice (v. 13). Viṣṇu reassures him; but says that he could not interfere without killing Rāvaṇa,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākshasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). Meanwhile he tells Indra to fight with Rāvaṇa (v. 21). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākshasas (v. 26 ff.). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumālī, one of the Rākshasas, and grandfather of Rāvaṇa, who had routed the gods, kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (v. 50), and puts the Rākshasas to flight. They are, however, rallied by Indrajit (sect. 28, 1 ff.), and the gods repulsed. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray (vv. 6 ff.). The gods are furiously assailed by Indrajit. Both sides, in the confusion, smite their own warriors (vv. 17 f.). Jayanta is carried off by his grandfather, his mother Saeh's father, Puloman, the Daitya, who enters with him into the sea (vv. 19 f.). The gods, thinking that Jayanta had been killed, take to flight (v. 21), and are pursued by Indrajit. Indra himself now comes upon the scene (v. 23), and is opposed by Rāvaṇa (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvaṇa), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, which he had obtained from Mahādeva, binds Indra and carries him off (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, follow them to Lankā (sect. 30). Brahmā praises Meghanāda's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra," v. 5). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released (v. 7). Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality (v. 8). This Brahmā refuses (v. 9).<sup>73</sup> Indrajit then says, v. 11: *Śrūyātāṃ vā bhavet siddhiḥ Satakratu-vimokṣaṇe* | 12. *Mameshṭāṃ nityaśo havyair mantraiḥ sampūjya Pāvakaṃ* | *saṅgrāmam avatartuṃ cha śatru-nirjaya-kāṅkṣinaḥ* | 13. *Āśva-yukto ratho mahyam uttishṭhet tu Vibhāvāsoḥ* | *tat-sthasyāmaratā syād me eṣa me niśchito varaḥ* | 14. *Tasmin yady asaṃāpte cha japyahome Vibhāvāsu* | *yudhyeyaṃ deva-saṅgrāme*

<sup>73</sup> See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.

*tadā me syād vināśanam* | 15. *Sarvo hi tapasā deva vṛjoty amaratām gumān* | *vikrameṇa mayā tv etad amaratvam pravartitam* | 16. *Quam estv iti tam chāha vākyaṁ devaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | *muktas chendrajita Sakro gataś cha tridivaṁ surāḥ* | 11. "Listen: or let me attain perfection by releasing Satakratu (Indra). 12. My wish is,—desirous as I am of conquering my enemies,—to enter into battle after constantly worshipping Agni with texts and oblations: (13) and the boon I have fixed to ask for is that (whenever I shall do so) a chariot with horses may rise up for me out of the Fire, and that while I stand in it I may remain immortal: (14) and if I fight in it against the gods before I have finished my prayers and oblations to Agni, let me perish. 15. For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality. And by my valour I have sought for this immortality. 16. 'So be it,' said Brahmā. Then Indra was released by Indrajit, and the gods went to heaven." Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 17–48), who was standing humiliated and thoughtful, that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā (v. 46), the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama (v. 27), as a reward for his austere virtue. For this he had been cursed by the sage (vv. 31 ff.). Ahalyā, too, was reprehended by the sage, expelled from his hermitage, and condemned to lose her prerogative of being the only beautiful woman in the world (vv. 36 ff.). She excuses herself by saying that Indra had assumed the form of her husband, and thus deceived her, and that she had not yielded to illicit passion (vv. 40 f.). She is then assured that she would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and received again by her husband (vv. 41 ff.); and Indra himself was enjoined to offer a Vaishṇava sacrifice by which he would be purified (v. 47 f.).<sup>74</sup> (Compare the forty-eighth and forty-

<sup>74</sup> The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice is mentioned: *Devānāṃ na yajneshv adhikāraḥ iti Jaiminy-uktaṁ tu pṛamādaś iti nirūpitam prāk* | "The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of sacrificing has been before determined to be founded on an inadvertence." The end of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 131, may be here referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is elsewhere found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of Nahusha adduced in the first volume of this work, pp. 307 ff., where such a sacrifice is referred to (p. 310). The lines of the Udyog-parvan (414 f.) in which this is mentioned are as follows: *Mām eva yajatām Sakraḥ pāvayishyāmi vajrinam* | *punyena hayamedhena mām iṣṭvā Pākāśanaḥ* | *punar iṣyati devānāṃ indratvam akutobhayaḥ* | Vishṇu

ninth sections of the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., the note in p. 49, above; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above, p. 262, note, and the beginning of Note E., p. 491.) I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 30, 19 ff.—*Amareṇdra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ śṛṣṭās tātha prabho | eka-varṇāḥ samābhāṣhāḥ eka-rūpās cha sarvaśaḥ |* 20. *Tāsmā nāsti viśeṣho hi darśane lakṣhaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'haṁ ekāgra-mānś tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam |* 21. *So 'haṁ tāsmā viśeṣhārthaṁ striyam ekāṁ vinirmame | yad yat prajānāṁ pratyangāṁ viśiṣṭāṁ tat tad uddhṛitam |* 22. *Tato mayā rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā stri vinirmita | Halaṁ nāmeḥa vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet |* 23. *Yasyāḥ na vidyate halyaṁ tenāhalyeti viśruta | Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyāḥ nāma prakīrtitam |* 19. "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. 20. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then, with intent mind, reflected on these creatures. 21. In order to distinguish them, I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. 22. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me. *Hala* means ugliness, and *halya* that which springs from ugliness. 23. She who has nothing sprung from ugliness (*halya*) is known as 'Ahalyā.' And I have made her known by this name."

NOTE I.—Page 427, line 7 from the foot.

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R.V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Maṇḍala=Ashṭaka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text, with a translation, of the genuine hymn to Night (R.V. x. 127), and then quote the Pariśiṣṭa:

R. V. x. 127.—1. *Rātri vi akhyad āyati purutrā devī akṣhabhīḥ | viś-vāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita |* 2. *Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udvataḥ |*

speaks: "Let Śakra (Indra) worship me: I will purify the thunderer. Having sacrificed to me with a pure horse sacrifice, he shall again obtain the headship of the gods, and be delivered from fear."

*jyotiṣhā bādhaṭe tamaḥ* | 3. *Nir ū svasāram askṛita ushasam devī āyati* | *apa id u hāsate tamaḥ* | 4. *Sā no adya yasyāḥ vayaṁ ni te yāman avikṣh-māhi* | *vrikoḥ na vasatiṁ vayaḥ* | 5. *Ni grāmāso avikṣhata ni padvanto ni pakṣhiṇaḥ* | *ni śyenāsai chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yavaya vṛikyam vṛikam yavaya stonaṁ ūrmye* | *atha naḥ sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā pepīsat tamaḥ kṛiṣh-naṁ vyaktam asthita* | *ushaḥ ṛiṇā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā akaram vṛiṇishva duhitar divaḥ* | *rātri stomam na jigyuṣhe* | “The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has assumed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the darkness departs. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have gone to rest at thy coming, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and even suppliant hawks, have gone to rest. 6. Drive away, O Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief; and carry us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness adorned [with stars], black, and yet illuminated, has approached me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have brought for thee a hymn, as it were an offering of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, O Night, daughter of the Day.”

1. (=Nir. iv. 29; A.V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ā rātri pār-thivam rojāḥ pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ* | *divaḥ sadāmsi bṛihatī vi tiṣṭhase ā tvesham vartate tamaḥ* | 2. (A.V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nṛchakṣhaso yuktāso*<sup>75</sup> *navatir nava* | *aṣītiḥ santv aṣṭū uto te sapta saptaṭiḥ* | 3. *Rātrim prapadye jananiṁ sarva-bhūta-niveśanīm*<sup>76</sup> | *bhadrām bhaga-vatiṁ kṛiṣhṇām viśvasya jagato niśam* | 4. *Saṁveśanīm saṁnyamanīm graha-nakṣhatra-mālinīm* | *prapanno 'haṁ śivāṁ rātrim bhadre pāram aśimahi bhadre pāram aśimahi om namaḥ* | 5. *Stoṣhyāmi prayato devīm śaraṇyām bahṛicha-priyām* | *sahasra-sammitām Durgām Jāta-vodaso sunavāma somam*<sup>77</sup> | 6. *Sūnty-artham dijātīnām piśibhiḥ samapāsritāḥ (samupāsritāḥ?)* | *ṛig-vedo tvam samutpannā 'rāṭiyato nida-hāti vedaḥ* | 7. *Ye tvam devī prapadyante brāhmaṇāḥ havya-cāhanim* |

<sup>75</sup> For *yuktāso*, the A. V. reads *drashtāraḥ*, “seers.”

<sup>76</sup> This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 35, 1: *Rātrim jagato niveśanīm*.

<sup>77</sup> The final pādas of this and the three following verses are, as Prof. Aufrecht observes, borrowed from R.V. i. 94.

*asidyāḥ bahuvidyāḥ vā sa naḥ parashāḍ ati durgāni viśva | 8. Agni-varṇām  
 kṛbḥām saumyām kīrtayishyanti ye dvijāḥ | tān tārayati durgāni nāsova  
 sindhūm duritā 'ty Agniḥ | 9. Durgeshu viśame ghore sangrāme ripṭ-  
 sankate | agni-chora-nipāteshu duṣṭa-graha-nivāraṇe | 10. Durgeshu  
 viśameshu tvām sangrāmeshu vaneshu cha | mohayitvā prapadyante  
 teshām me abhayaṁ kuru teshām me abhayaṁ kuru om namaḥ | 11. Keśi-  
 nīm sarva-bhūtānām pañcamīti cha nāma cha | sā mām samāḥ nīśāḥ devī  
 sarvataḥ parirakshatu sarvataḥ parirakshatu om namaḥ | [v. 12 is the  
 same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text, beginning tām  
 agni-varṇām, etc.] | 13. Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu kaṁ no devir abhi-  
 śṭaye | yaḥ imaṁ Durga-stavam puṇyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhet | rātriḥ  
 kuśikāḥ saubhāro rātri-stavo gāyatrī | rātri-suktaṁ japed nityaṁ tat-  
 kalam upapadyate |*

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

1. "O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's night. Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and awful darkness returns. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee<sup>78</sup> be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I attain to Night, the mother, who brings rest to all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have attained the auspicious Night, who causes men to rest, who composes [them], who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. May we reach the other side in safety! may we reach the other side in safety! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvṛichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. For the tranquillization of the twice-born, thou art resorted to by rishis, and hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. May [Agni] burn up the wealth of him who seeks to hurt us! 7. The Brahmins, learned or ignorant, who resort, O goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as in a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. In difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in

<sup>78</sup> Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers be," etc.



visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men, bewildered, resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired, and whose name among all creatures is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 427, line 26.) 13. May the divine Durgā be propitious for our good in difficulties. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatri),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time.”

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

NOTE J.—Page 429, lines 13 f.

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff. : *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kālā-nishṭhā-karī prabho | bhayān naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ ahiḥkūchcha mahā-bhayāt |* 53. *Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ityādi |* 54. *Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā guṇa-lakṣaṇā | tayā ityādi |* 55. *Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā ityādi |* 56. *Sudhūmra-varṇā yā jihvā prāṇināṃ roga-dāyikā | tayā ityādi |* 57. *Sphulinginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ [yā te?] sakala-pudgalā | tayā ityādi |* 58. *Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṇināṃ sarma-dāyinī | tayā ityādi |* 52. “By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmra-varṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulinginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.”

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold : *Tvāṃ aṣṭādha kālpayitvā yajnam ādyam akalpayan |*

“Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice.” This seems to refer to the legend from the Brāhmanas given in pp. 339–347. Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Satarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 322 f.) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventyeth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahnē śivam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta hotayaḥ | taiḥ pāhi naḥ stuto deva pitā putram ivātmajam |* “When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son.”

In v. 63 Agni is said to have “stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes” (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idaṁ charācharam Hutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).

## ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

### i. Page 6, note 13.

See further R.V. ii. 33, 1; and Dr. Bollensen's remarks on the word *sandris* in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., p. 588.

### ii. Page 9, line 11.

See Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1 f.

### iii. Page 19, line 3 from the top and line 11 from the foot.

I learn by a communication, dated some months ago, from Professor Aufrecht, that *anvāsaye* is not a substantive, as I had understood it, but the third person singular present, from the root *śi + anu + ā*. He would translate the whole verse thus: "With which body has Skambha entered the past, and which body of his rests over the future? When he divided his one body into a thousand bodies, with which of them did he enter there?" And he thinks that the second half of verse 8 has exactly the same sense. *Says* is, he adds, a very common Vedic form for *śete*. See also the fasciculus of Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon (recently received), s.v. *śi*, where also *śaye* is stated to be the 3rd pers. sing.; and the scholiast on Pāṇini vii. 1, 41, is referred to in proof. In the same work the root *śi + anu + ā* is explained as, in this passage, signifying "to stretch over."

### iv. Page 28, line 8.

I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v. *śatabāhu*, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: *Aśvakraṇṭe rathakṛaṇṭe Viṣṇukṛaṇṭe vasundharā | śirasa dhārāyishyāmi rakshasa mām paśe paśe | bhūmīr dhenur dharaṇī loka-dharaṇī | uddhṛitā 'ei varāhena kṛishṇena śatabāhunā |*

v. *Page 28, line 14.*

\*See Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.

vi. *Page 29, line 9.*

See Tāṇḍya Br. iv. 1, 4.

vii. *Page 39, line 17.*

For "vi. 2, 42," read "vi. 2, 4, 2."

viii. *Page 39, line 23.*

*Ahaṁ durgād āhartā.* Compare R.V. i. 61, 7, and viii. 66, 10, in pp. 67 and 91, and the quotation from Sāyaṇa's commentary given in p. 92 f., above.

ix. *Page 44, line 22.*

For "5, 32," read "5, 34."

x. *Page 45, line 5.*

See Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. *Page 56, line 11.*

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Trishtubh, the Jagatī, or the Anuṣṭubh metres, but gained it by the Brihatī.

xii. *Page 58, last line of the text.*

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 11; 6, 5; xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27 f.

xiii. *Page 61, line 5.*

See the discussion among the gods about a formula in Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.

xiv. *Page 67, line 18.*

On the word *mātri*, "measurer," Böhlingk and Roth have the following explanation: "Sāyaṇa brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to 'the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.' Benfey translates 'carpenter.' But Vṛitra's mother may be here spoken of."

xv. Page 78, line 11 from the foot.

See also Tāṇḍya Br., xx. 15, 6, f.

xvi. Page 80, line 5 from the foot.

Vishṇu is also mentioned in R.V. v. 49, 3: *Indro Vishṇur Varuṇo Mitro Agnir ahāni bhadrā janayanta dasmāḥ* |

xvii. Page 81, line 27.

In R.V. viii. 12, 8, Indra is said to have eaten a thousand buffaloes and to have in consequence gained in vigour (*yadi pravṛiddha satpato sahasraṃ mahishān aghaḥ* | *ād it te indriyam mahi pra vavṛidhe*).

xviii. Page 85, line 13.

"The Aśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Aśvins, have come by a path which yields enjoyment."

xix. Page 88, lines 16, 22 and 28.

For "*yan na*" read "*yan naḥ*:" and in line 22, for "tellect not" read "tellect to us."

The passage of the Taitt. San. referred to in p. 88, line 28, viz. ii. 5, 2 (p. 585 of Bibl. Ind., vol. ii.), gives the following explanation of the words Vishṇave Sipivishṭāya: *Yajno vai Vishṇuḥ | paśavaḥ śipīḥ | yajnaḥ eva paśuḥ pratishṭhati* | "Vishṇu" means sacrifice, and 'Sipi' means victims; for sacrifice depends upon victims." See also the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa ix. 7, 9 ff. R.V. vii. 100, 6, is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on "Sipivishṭa:" "This attribute of Vishṇu occurs only in R.V. vii. 99, 6 (a verse which ought to have stood only at the end of hymn 100, as hymn 99 is devoted to the celebration of Indra and Vishṇu), and in the only important verses vii. 100, 5 and 6. The A.V. does not know the word, and in the other Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas it has been, as in other cases, adopted from the R.V. It is perfectly clear that something opprobrious was expressed by the epithet, for vii. 100, 6, means: 'Why should any one, O Vishṇu, have found a subject for reproof when thou didst say, "I am Sipivishṭa"? Do not conceal even that shape of thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.' Now Aupamanyava says clearly that 'Sipivishṭa' is 'kutsitārthīya' (has a bad,

or contemptuous, sense).<sup>79</sup> The commentator on the Taittirīya Saṁhita, ii. 2, 12, 5 (vol. ii., p. 390) says that it is used for *atyanta-rogin*.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The complete words of Āupamanyava are as follows: *S'ipivishṭo Viśṇur aśi Viśṇor dve nāmanī bhavataḥ | kutsil-arthīyam pūrvam ity Āupamanyavaḥ* | "Āupamanyava says that there are two names of Viśṇu, S'ipivishṭa and Viśṇu: of which the former has a bad sense."

<sup>80</sup> I quote the commentator's remarks on the verse (vii. 100, 6, of the R.V.) at length: *Ho "Viśṇo" tvam "yad" yasmāt kṛāṇat "S'ipivishṭo aśi" iti prakaraṇeṇa "evavakṣhe" punaḥ pumar vakṣhi tasmāt "te" tava manasi "kim it pari-chakṣhyam bhūt" kim idam garhaṇīyam abhūt | na etad garhaṇīyam vṛthā eva tava lajjā ity abhiprāyaḥ | yadyapy etan nāma loke atyantaroginy | udghāṭita-guhyatva-vimūḍhaiḥ prayujyate "S'ipivishṭo 'yam" iti tathāpy avayavārthasya brāhmaṇena vyākhyātatvād nāsty atra tava lajjā-kāraṇam | tasmād "etad varpo" varishṭham nāma "asmat mā apagūhaḥ" asmākam agre guḍham mā kuru | "yad" yasmāt team guhanāya eva samitihe yuddhe kavacha-śīrehaṇyābhyaṁ guḍho "anyarūpo babhūtha" babhūvitha | tad anyathā yathātathā vā bhavatu tathāpy asmat-vṛddhau (quere buddhau ?) prāśastam idam mā gopāya ity arthaḥ | "O Viśṇu, since thou repeatedly sayest I am S'ipivishṭa, how, then, is this, in thy mind, matter of reproach? It is not matter of reproach; thou art needlessly ashamed: such is the purport. Although this word is in common language applied to diseased persons, to those whose nakedness is uncovered, and to fools, by those who say 'so and so is S'ipivishṭa,' yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 5, 5, 2, see above), thou hast no occasion for shame. Do not therefore conceal from us thy most excellent name (so the commentator understands *varpo*). Inasmuch as in the battle thou hast for the sake of concealment been covered by a coat of mail and a helmet,—whether the fact be so or otherwise, do not conceal that which in our estimation deserves praise."*

The word "S'ipivishṭa" also occurs in the Ś'atarudriya (Vajas. Saṁhita 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahidhara on the verse: *S'ipivishṭāya Viśṇurūpāya* | "Viśṇuḥ S'ipivishṭaḥ" iti śruteḥ | *yadvā ś'ipishu paśuṣhu viśṭaḥ pravishṭaḥ* | "paśavo vai ś'ipir" iti śruteḥ | *sarva-prāṇiṣhu antaryāmitayā sthitāḥ ity arthaḥ* | *yadvā "yajno vai ś'ipih"* | *yajne 'dhidevatātvena pravishṭaḥ* | *ś'ipir ādityo vā maṇḍalādhiśṭhātā ity arthaḥ* | *tasmai namaḥ* | "ś'ipayo 'tra raśmayāḥ uchyante tair āviśṭo bhavati" iti Yāskokteḥ (Nirukta, 5, 8). "To S'ipivishṭa, i.e. to him who is in the form of Viśṇu: for the Veda says S'ipivishṭa is Viśṇu. Or, according to the Vedic text, that 'ś'ipi' means cattle, S'ipivishṭa will mean, he who enters into cattle, i.e. who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or 'Ś'ipi' means sacrifice; and so S'ipivishṭa may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, 'ś'ipi' is the sun who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yāska says (Nirukta 5, 8) 'Ś'ipi' means rays; by them he is pervaded."

Professor Weber has the following notice of 'S'ipivishṭa' in his Indische Studien ii. 37 f., note. This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yāska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra has the following: *Nirvoshṭita-śaśhāya (ś'ipāya ?) | sarvadā devadāru-vaṇa-pradeśādau vā yathā ādityātmane | yathā Skanda-purāṇe S'aityaśchhamatayogād (?) vā ś'ipi vāri prachakṣate | tatpānād raketayād vā 'pi ś'ipayo raśmayo matāḥ | teshu pravishṭaḥ, savitā S'ipivishṭa ihochyate | yadvā paśavaḥ ś'ipayaḥ "yajno vai Viśṇuḥ paśavāḥ ś'ipir" iti śruteḥ sarva-prāṇādy-antaryāmitvena pravishṭaḥ ity arthaḥ* | [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. "'S'ipi' is akin to 'ś'epa,' 'ś'ipra,' Kiefer, hip, Hüfte, cippus."

This piece of information is taken from the Amarakośha, where it is said, *S'ipivishṭas tu khalatau duścharmaṇi mahāśvare*. Halāyudha and Hama-chandra have the same. Amara must have taken the two first meanings ('bald-headed' and 'leprous') from actual use; and there is no reason to doubt that even in the Vedic passages 'S'ipivishṭa' means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of 'śipi' is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word 'śipi' is not found used separately. For what the Taittiriya Sanhitā ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, *yajno vai Viśṇuḥ | paśavaḥ śipih* (Tāṇḍya Br. xviii. 6, 26<sup>81</sup>), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about 'śipi,' is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon 'śipi' by 'śipitam,' 'defective,' in the Satap. Br. xi. 1, 4, 4.<sup>82</sup>

xx. Page 91, note <sup>81</sup>.

See also R.V. viii. 22, 1.

xxi. Page 95, line 1.

For "ix. 166," read "ix. 100."

xxii. Page 95, line 10.

Another verse in which Viśṇu is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: *Ā ahaṇ pītrīm suvidatrān avītsi napātāṃ cha vikramanaṃ cha Viśṇoḥ* | "I have found the beneficent Fathers, and the path and the stride of Viśṇu." *Napāt* is explained by Mahīdhara in Vāj. S. 19, 56, thus: *Nāsti pāto yatra sa napāto deva-yāna-patho yatra gatānām pāto nāsti*.<sup>83</sup> "Napāta means that on which there is no

<sup>81</sup> This passage is as follows: *Eśā vai Prajūpateḥ paśuapāthā tanūr yat S'ipivishṭaḥ | prūṇo bṛihat | prūṇaḥ eva paśuśu pratishṭhataḥ* | "This S'ipivishṭa is that body of Prajapati which abides in victims (or beasts). The Bṛihat is breath: and it is breath which abides in victims." On which the commentator remarks: "*Yajno Viśṇuḥ | paśavaḥ śipir*" iti śruty-antarāt | *Viśṇoḥ Prajūpatīvūt S'ipivishṭaḥ* iti | "For another Vedic text says that Viśṇu is sacrifice, and śipi denotes victims. Since Viśṇu has the character of Prajapati, he is S'ipivishṭa," etc.

<sup>82</sup> The Commentator's note on this passage is as follows: *Ahāle niruptaṃ haviḥ śipitām | tad-ūrito doṣa-viśeṣaḥ | tad-yuktaṃ iva yajnasya śarīram bhavati* | Prof. Aufrecht proposes to correct this as follows: *Ahāle—śipitam | śipitām tano-ūrito doṣa-viśeṣaḥ*, etc. According to this corrected reading the sense will be: "An oblation offered at a wrong time is 'śipita.' Now 'śipita' means a particular defect residing in the body. With it the body of the sacrifice becomes affected, as it were."

fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall." Sāyana on R.V. x. 15, 3 makes the word=*vināśābhāva*, "the absence of destruction."

xxiii. Page 114, line 14.

For "verse" read "sense."

xxiv. Page 119, note <sup>ns</sup>.

As regards the question whether or not ether (*ākāśa*) is eternal, see the first volume of this work, pp. 130 and 506, and the third vol., pp. 70, 106, and 164.

xxv. Page 127, line 4 from the foot.

For "*pravinakti*" read "*pravṛinakti*."

xxvi. Page 128, line 5.

The Commentator on the Taitt. Ār. (Bibl. Ind.), p. 372, explains *utkara* thus: *Veder uttara-bhāge pāṁsu-triṇādayo yatra prakshipyante so 'yam utkaraḥ* | "The *utkara* is the place on the north side of the Vēdi (altar) where dust, grass, etc., is thrown."

xxvii. Page 129, line 13.

This passage is identical with Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 6, vol. i., p. 433.

xxviii. Page 262, line 6 from the foot.

The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa xii. 6, 8, also relates that Indra, after thus treacherously slaying Namuchi, was followed by the head or something else which cried, "Slayer of a hero, thou hast injured me, thou hast injured me." This he could not destroy, either by *ṛich*, or *sāman*, but by a *Hārivarṇa* "*tad enam pāpīyaṁ vāchaṁ vadad anvavartata vira-hann adruho 'druhaḥ*" *iti* | *tad na ṛichā na sāmnā apahantum āśaknot* | *tad hārivarṇasya eva nidhanena apāhata*)

xxix. Page 297, line 18.

To the word "Jarāsandha" at the beginning of the line, prefix "582."

xxx. Page 300, line 6.

For "x. 70," read "v. 70."



xxxi. *Page 302, line 15.*

Prof. Whitney has since given up this interpretation. See p. 399.

xxxii. *Page 303, line 7.*

For "ii. 2, 29," read "xi. 2, 29."

xxxiii. *Page 303, line 22.*

For "commentorial," read "commentatorial."

xxxiv. *Page 306, line 26.*

See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii., pp. 77 f.

xxxv. *Page 319, line 2.*

For "x. 26," read "xii. 26."

xxxvi. *Page 400, line 11.*

For "ii. 23," read "ii. 33."

xxxvii. *Page 421, line 24.*

For "x. 99," read "x. 90."

xxxviii. *Page 471, line 12.*

For "Devavatī," read "Vedavatī."

xxxix. *Page 491, line 27.*

For "xiii. 8, 17," read "xiii 4, 17."

## INDEX.

- A.**
- Abhyagni**, 320  
**Achāvaka** priest, 84  
**Aditi**, 11 ff., 80, 84, 114 f., 133 f., 136, 229, 306, 365 etc.  
**Adhvaryu** priest, 66, 160  
**Adhvaryu Brāhmaṇa**, 14  
**Āditeya**, 117  
**Aditya**, 14, 26 f., 46, 65, etc.  
 — is lord of **Brahmā**, **Vishṇu** and **Budra**, 475  
**Āditya-hridaya**, a hymn, 474  
**Adityas**, 14 f., 54, 114 ff.  
**Æschylus**, **Prometheus Vincetus**, 66  
**Agastya**, 473, 480, 485  
**Agneyi**, 161  
**Agni**, 9, 22 f., 26, 28 f., 46, 58, 61, 66, 70, 76, etc.  
 — texts in praise of, 111  
 — one of triad of gods, 66, 70, 160 ff.  
 — breaks down castles, 312  
 — his eight forms and names, 340 ff.  
 — enamoured of **Rishis'** wives, 352 ff.  
 — his tongues, 429, 497  
**Agnihotra**, 57  
**Agni Purāṇa** iv., 6—161  
**Ahalyā**, 48, 496  
**Ahankāra**, 42 f.  
**Ahavanīya** fire, 359  
**Ahi**, 82, 101  
**Āhṛiti**, 253  
**Āindra-vaishṇava** oblation, 79  
**Air**, 46  
**Āitareya Brāhmaṇa**—  
 i. 1—129  
 — 30—129  
 ii. 8—289  
 iv. 22—9  
 vi. 15—84, 123  
 — 33—319  
**Aitaka**, 319  
**Aitasa-pralāpa**, 320  
**Aitihāskas**, 92  
**Aja**, 378, 383 (see **Brahmā**)  
**Ākāśa** (ether), 32, 119  
**Ākhandala** (appellation of **Indra**), 196  
**Amaravati**, 248  
**Ambikā**, 321, 422  
 — is sister of **Rudra**, according to the **Yajurvedas**, 321. See **Umā**.  
**Ambitamā**, 424  
**Amśa**, or **Amśu**, 14, 115  
**Anakadundubhi** (name of **Vasudeva**), 273  
**Anarāyaṇa**, 457 f.  
**Andhaka**, 336, 472  
**Angas**, 246  
**Angiras**, 91  
**Angirases**, 107, 116  
**Aniruddha**, grandson of **Krishṇa**, 435  
**Anṛita-deva**, 410  
**Antaka**, 336, 472  
**Anukramanikā**, 77  
**Anuṣṭubh**, 162  
**Āpah**. See **Waters**  
**Aparṇā**, 431. See **Umā**  
**Apsarases**, obtained by **Kṣatriyas** slain in battle, 277  
**Apsarases**, 461  
**Aramati**, sense of the word, 317  
**Arbuda**, 107  
**Ardhaka**, 336  
**Arjuna**, 161 and passim  
**Arjuna** (**Kārtavīrya**), 177, 253  
**Arthavādas**, 131  
**Arundhati**, 354  
**Arunmukha Yati**, 493  
**Arurmaghas**, 493  
**Āryas**, 76  
**Ārya Bhaṭṭa**, 110  
**Āryaman**, 14, 68, 78  
**Āsani**, 342, 347  
**Asita Deva**, 432  
**Asura** (the Spirit), 109  
**Asuras**, 26 f., 40, 54, 58 ff., etc.  
**Asuras**, their castles, 203, 223 ff.  
**Āsuri**, 123  
**Āsvatthāman**, 186  
**Āśvamedha**, or horse-sacrifice, 167 ff.  
**Āsvins**, 46, 48, 68, 76, 128, etc.  
**Atharva-siras**, 166, 172  
 — quoted, 356  
**Atharva-veda**, quoted or referred to—  
 2, 1, 3—6  
 — 27, 6—332, 403  
 3, 16, 1—313  
 — 20, 4, 7—96  
 4, 2, 1—8—15 f., 18  
 — 21, 7—312  
 — 28, 1 ff.—332  
 — 30, 5—318  
 — 3, 3—96  
 — 21, 11—333  
 — 25, 5—96  
 — 26, 7—65  
 6, 93, 1, 2—333, 403  
 — 141, 1—333  
 7, 26, 1—3—68  
 — 26, 4—7—63  
 — 42, 1, 2—313  
 — 44, 1—83  
 — 50, 6—106  
 — 79, 4—16  
 — 80, 3—16  
 87, 1—333, 358, 403  
 8, 2, 7—333, 403  
 — 5, 10—333  
 — 8, 11—337  
 9, 2—4  
 — 6, 29—63  
 — 7, 7—334  
 — 10, 17—76  
 10, 1, 23—334, 403  
 — 2, 7—23  
 — 3, 9—15  
 — 7, 25—11  
 — 7, 7 ff.—18 f.  
 — 8, 2, 11, 44—19  
 — 8, 29—258  
 11, 2, 1—31—334 ff., 403  
 — 6, 2—115  
 — 6, 9—338, 403

**Atharva-veda, continued—**

- 12, 1, 8—24  
 — 4, 17—338, 403  
 12, 2, 26—5  
 — 4, 4, 26 ff.—338, 403 f.  
 16, 5, 1-7—338  
 18, 1, 40—308  
 19, 10, 9—84  
 — 53, 10—27  
 20, 17, 5—106  
 — 87, 3—103  
 — 89, 9—106  
 — 99, 2—104  
 — 106, 26—89  
 — 111, 1—89  
 — 114, 1—104  
 — 126, 1—106

**Atigrāhyas, 62**

Atikāya, son of Rāvana,  
 412

Aufrecht (Prof. Th.), his  
 aid acknowledged, 7, 59,  
 78, 81, 84, 90 f., 102,  
 106, 117, 152, 232, 261,  
 302, 306, 310, 314, 409,  
 411, 494, 502, 504  
 — his Catalogue of  
 Sanskrit MSS., 151, 188,  
 228, etc.

Aupamanyava, 88, 506

\*urnavābha, 64 ff., 97,  
 156, 439

Avinidhya, Minister of Rā-  
 vana, 413

**B.**

Babru, 212

Badari, 188, 232, etc.

Bāhikas, 328, 339

Bahvrich Śruti, 144

Balarāma or Baladeva,  
 245, 249, 258, 260

Balarāma incarnation, 156\*

Bali, 133 ff., 156, 465

Banerjee's (Rev. K. M.)  
 dialogues on Hindu phi-  
 losophy, 49

Bangas, 246

Benfey's (Prof. Th.) Glos-  
 sary to Sāma-veda, 11,  
 81 f., 102

— translation of Sāma-  
 veda, 63 f., 87, 89

— of Rigveda, in  
 Orient und Occident,  
 63 f., 68, 102, 229, 302,  
 315 f.

Bhedrā, 212

Bhadrakālī, 416

Bhaga, 14, 80, 115

— his eyes knocked  
 out by Rudra, 200, 268,  
 383

Bhagavadgītā, 169, 381

— 3, 20 ff., and 4,  
 7 f., quoted, 53, 153

Bhāgavata Purāṇa quoted

1, 3, 7—36

— 3, 1 ff., & 26 f.—156

— 3, 16—27

2, 5, 34—44

— 6, 21 ff.—10

— 10, 10—44

3, 12, 28 ff.—47

— 20, 12 ff.—43

— 26, 50 ff.—43

— 30, 10—381

4, 1, 47 ff.—378

— Sects. 2-7—377 ff.

— 5, 20—202

— 25, 6—381

5, 19, 5—456

6, 6, 24, 36—121

— 6, 41—202

8, Sects. 15-23—137 ff.

— 23, 29—72

— 24, 4 ff.—39

10, 1, 21 ff.—254

— 33, 27 ff.—49 f., 182, 253

— 34, 8—249

— Sects. 43 ff.—216

— 64th and previous sect-  
 ions—178

— 74, 34—206

Bhagīratha, 365

Bharadvāja, 96, 486

Bharata, epithet of Agni, 28

Bharata, brother of Rāma,  
 175, 445 f.

Bhāva, 43, 328, 332

Bhavas, 331

Bhavānī, 406

Bhavitra, 81

Bhīmasena, 211

Bhīshma, 206

Bhīshmaka, 215

Bhogavati, 253

Bhoja, 253

Bhrigu, 177

— reviles Rudra, 382

— his beard plucked  
 out by Rudra, 383

Bhrigus, 140

Bhū, 14

Bhūr, Kauṣaḥ, svar, 25

Bhūtādi, 42 f.

Bhuvana, 9, 369

Boar, or Varāna, 39, 67

Boar incarnation, 27, 33 f.,  
 36 ff., 156, 390

Böhtlingk and Roth's  
 Lexicon, 13, and *passim*

Bollensen's (Dr.) articles  
 in *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.*,  
 and Benfey's *Orient und*  
*Occident*, 306 f.

Bombay edition of Rāmā-  
 yana, 33, 131, & *passim*

Brahma, 7, 19 f., 29 f., and  
*passim*

Brahma (the Veda), 22

Brahmā, 10, 18, 31 f., and  
*passim*

— born in an egg, 31 f.

— sprung from the  
 waters and ether, 33

— becomes a boar, 33, 39

— takes the form of a  
 fish, 38

— called Nārāyana, 31,  
 37, 39, 164

— springs from a lotus  
 issuing from Viṣṇu's

navel, 43, 230, 267, 477

— his passion from his  
 own daughter, 47 f.

— the first god in the  
 Trimūrti, 163, 280

— grants boons to Rā-  
 vana and Atikāya, etc.,  
 167, 412, 468, 470

— informs Rāma of his  
 divinity, 181

— created by Rudra,  
 188, 194

— created by Kṛishṇa,  
 or Viṣṇu, 230, 267,  
 273

— worships Linga and  
 Rudra, 192 f.

— acts as charioteer to  
 Rudra, 222, 226

— grants boon to Tā-  
 rakā's sons, 223

— praises Kṛishṇa in a  
 hymn, 236

— is son of Vāsudeva,  
 237

— mediates between  
 Viṣṇu, or Kṛishṇa,

and Rudra, 240, 279

— promises to Rudra a  
 share in sacrifices, 374

— is present at sacri-  
 fices, 167, 374, 376

— is father of Dakṣa,  
 378

**Brahmā**, his dispute with Vishnu allayed by the *Liṅga*, 388  
 — is a form of Rudra, 392  
 — Rudra springs from his forehead, 392  
 — identified with the soul of the Universe, 367 f.

— curses Kumbhakarna, 462  
 — his promise to the gods, 471  
 — Aditya called his lord, 475  
 — asks Vishnu to become Preserver, 477  
 — welcomes Rāma to heaven, 479  
 — is mental father of Pulastya, 485  
 — offers boons to Rāma, 485  
 — creates the first woman, 496. (See *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Prajāpati*, *Viśvakarma*).

**Brahma-kalpa**, 35  
**Brahman** (priest), 66  
**Brahmaspati**, 12, 77, 162  
**Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa**, 182  
**Bṛihadāraṇyaka**, 3, 22, 24, 29  
**Bṛihaddevatā**, i., 13—163  
**Bṛihadgiri**, 492  
**Bṛihaspati**, 68, 96, 152, 154, 162  
**Bṛihat**, 96, 162  
**Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāṇa**, 39, 147  
**Buddha**, 212  
 — incarnation, 156

## C.

**Chaitraratha forest**, 230, 262  
**Chandakapsika rishi**, 292  
**Charaka Brāhmaṇa**, 92  
**Chāraṇa**, 177  
**Chārvāka**, Rukhsa, friend of Duryodhana, 294 f.  
**Chāsturnasya**, 57  
**Chāksusha Manvantara**, 120  
**Chedia**, 205, 215, 246  
**Chhandas**, 163  
**Chhāndogya Upanishad** quoted, 12, 26, 183

**Churning the ocean for Amrita**, 50, 365  
**Colebrooke's** (Mr. H. T.), *Essays*, 65, 110, 245, etc.  
**Cowell's** (Prof. E. B.), *Maitri Upanishad*, 267  
 — translation of the *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, 493

## D.

**Dadhichi**, 240, 374  
**Dadhikrū**, 85  
**Daityas**, 110  
**Daityasenā**, 350  
**Dakṣa**, 12 ff., 28, 115, 117 f.  
 — his sacrifice disturbed, 200, 240, 372 f.  
 — reviles and curses Rudra, 379 f.  
 — his daughters, 385  
**Dambhodbhava**, 236  
**Dānavas**, or *Danujas*, 39, 110, 167  
**Darsa**, 57  
**Dāsaratha**, 167, 171 ff.  
**Dasyus**, 248  
**Dattātreya** incarnation, 156  
**Dawn**, daughter of *Prajāpati*, 45  
**Death**, personified, 55, 57 f.  
**Devaki**, mother of Krishna, 181, 183, 257 f.  
**Devārāta**, 177, 372  
**Devasenā**, 350  
**Devavatī**, 487  
**Devayāni**, 154  
**Devi**. See *Umā*  
**Devibhāgavata** quoted, 267  
**Devīnāhatmya** quoted, 435 f.  
**Dhammapada**, referred to, 201

**Dhanvantari** incarnation, 156  
**Dharma**, 156, 239, 241, 378  
**Dhātṛi**, 14, 96 f., 115, 204  
**Dhūrjati**, 205  
**Diti**, mother of *Daityas*, 237, 305, 365  
**Dravīṇodas**, 95  
**Dandubhi**, a *Gandharvī*, 484  
**Durgā**, 426. See *Umā*  
**Durgachārya**, commentator on the *Nirukta*, 65, 74, 117, 161, 355, 409

**Durgā-stava**, 427, 498  
**Durgati**, 428  
**Durvāsa**, 199, 204, 245, 275, 477  
**Duryodhana**, disbeliever in Krishna's supernatural character, 216 f., 220 ff.  
 — desires to celebrate *Rājastūya* sacrifice, 283, 293  
 — celebrates *Vaiśāṇava* sacrifice, 293 f.  
**Dūshana**, 472  
**Dushkanta**, 457  
**Dvārakā**, 214, etc.  
**Dwarf** incarnation, 66, 107 f., 130 ff., 156  
**Dyaus**, 45, etc.

## E.

**Earth**, the goddess, 38, 46, 80, 161  
 — her burthen lightened, 215, 255. Compare p. 161  
**Egg**, mundane, 23 ff., 30, 41 ff.  
**Ekalavya**, 249  
**Ekapānā**, 431  
**Ekapātālī**, 431  
**Ekaṇṇāśa-stoma**, 162  
**Emūsha**, 28  
**Entity and Non-entity**, 4  
**Euripides**, his *Helena* and *Orestes* quoted, 255  
**Evayāmarut**, 81

## G.

**Gada**, 246  
**Gandhamādana**, 240, 262  
**Gandhūras**, 245, 249  
**Gandharva**, 6, 112, 165  
**Gaṇeśa**, 278  
**Gangā**, 270, 430  
 — her descent, 365  
**Gangādvāra**, 374  
**Garuda**, 189, etc.  
**Gauḍī**, 353  
**Gaṇi**, 359, 422. See *Umā*  
**Gautama**, 49, 496  
**Gaviputra**, 482  
**Gayatri**, 65  
**Gāyatrī**, 123, 161  
**Genesis**, Book of, 48  
**Gharma**, 96, 126  
**Ghora Angirasa**, 183  
**Girivraja**, 288  
**Gods**, how they become immortal, 54

Gods, how they became superior to the Asuras, 58  
 — how they became unequal, 61  
 — by birth are alone objects of sacrifice, 131 ;  
 "work - gods" may themselves offer sacrifice, 132, 496  
 Gokarna, 284  
 Goldstücker's (Prof. Th.) Pāṇini, or Mānavakalpa Sūtra, 5, 169  
 — Sanskrit Dictionary, 62  
 Gopati, 253  
 Gopis, 50 f.  
 Gorresio's Rāmāyaṇa, 34, and passim  
 — opinion regarding Rāma's incarnation, 447, 481  
 — opinion regarding Śiva's worship in Southern India, 411  
 — remark by him, 415  
 Govinda, 38, 219  
 Graha (Rāhu), 190  
 Grahas, 62  
 Guha, 350. See Kārtikeya  
 Guṇas, 43

## H.

Habakkuk, iii. 6—72  
 Hall (Dr. Fitzedward), his aid acknowledged, 374, 377, 407  
 — his edition of Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 3, and passim  
 Hansa, name of Kṛishṇa, 264  
 Hansa, name of Brahmā, 490  
 Hanumat, 456  
 — his merits as a grammarian, 490  
 Hari, 39. See Vishṇu  
 Harivaṁśa quoted, or referred to—  
   line 35,—32  
   43,—393  
   171,—120  
   549,—13  
   589,—120  
   940,—431  
   2725,—151  
   3236,—433  
   4169,—161

## Harivaṁśa, continued—

4166,—151  
 6579,—215  
 6833,—250  
 7418,—83  
 9423,—435  
 10235,—435  
 10660,—278  
 11548,—120  
 12195,—161  
 12425,—32  
 12456,—120  
 12900,—161  
 Sections 183 f.—178  
 Haug's (Prof. M.) translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 9, 84, 260, 320, 493  
 — dissertation by him referred to, 289  
 Hayagrīva, 39  
 Heaven (sva), 80  
 Heti, 486  
 Himālaya, 230, 269  
 Himavat, 385, 430  
 Hiranyagarbha, 16 ff, 31 ff, 188, 355, 388  
 Hiranyakāshipu, 190, 215.  
 Hiranyapura, 234.  
 Hotri priest, 66  
 Human sacrifices, whether practised in the Vedic age, 289  
 Hri, 168  
 Hrishikeśa, 181, 208, etc.

## I.

Ikshvāku, 445  
 Ilā, 161  
 Immortality, how acquired by the gods, 54 ff.  
 Incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu, 253  
 — of white and black hairs of Vishṇu, 257 ff.  
 Indha, 22  
 Indische Studien (Prof. A. Weber's), referred to or quoted, 23, 28, 123, 200, 277, etc.  
 Indra, 15, 20, 22, 25 f., 40, 48, 61, 64, 66, 160, etc.  
 — texts in which his greatness is celebrated, 99 ff.  
 — celebrated conjointly with Vishṇu, 74, 78, 83, 86  
 — with other gods, 108

Indra conquered by Indrajit, 496  
 — corrupts Ahalya, 49, 496  
 Indradymna, 253  
 Indrajit, son of Ravana, and conqueror of Indra, 411, 417 ff, 450, 494  
 Indrāṇi, 406  
 Interpolated passages in Rāmāyaṇa, 479  
 Indu (soma), 77  
 Irāvati, 253  
 Isaiah, xi. 6—190  
 — xi. 22; xlv. 12, 18—86  
 J.

Jagati, 123, 162  
 Jaigishavya, 432  
 Jaimini, criticized by Commentator on Rāmāyaṇa, 496  
 Jamadagni, 177, 322  
 Jambavat, 146  
 Jambavati, wife of Kṛishṇa, 189  
 Jambha, 234, 245, 249  
 Jambudvīpa, 440  
 Janaka, father of Sītā, 175, 372, 464 f.  
 Janaloka, 38, 146, 388  
 Jarū, rākshasi, a household goddess, 291  
 Jarasandha, 212, 245  
 — destined human victims for Rudra, 288 ff.  
 — slain by Bhīmasena, 291  
 — his birth related, 291  
 Jārūthi, 253  
 Jāvah, 171  
 Jayadratha, 184, 186, 286  
 — worships Rudra, 286  
 Jayanta, an Aditya, 118  
 Jayanta, son of Indra, 495  
 Jayanti, daughter of Indra, 153 f.  
 Jayantiṭha, 300  
 Jiva, 44  
 Job xvi. 7—101  
 Journal of American Oriental Society, referred to or quoted, 48, 398  
 Jvara (fever), 374  
 Jyeshtha suman, 193  
 Jyotishṭoma, 62

## K.

Ka (Prajapati or Kāśyapa), 15, 138

- Kaikasi**, mother of Ravana, 487 f.  
**Kaikseyi**, 173, 175, 445 f.  
**Kāṣa**, 230, etc.  
**Kaitabha**, a Dānava, 230, 433, 435  
**Kaivalya Upanishad**, 362  
**Kāḷakanjas**, 234  
**Kālanemi**, an asura, 254  
**Kālī**, 416, 426, 427, 429. See **Umā**.  
**Kālīnga**, 202, 249  
**Kalki** incarnation, 156  
**Kamalāsana** (Brahmā), 43  
**Kāmbhojas**, 243  
**Kanadhūma** penance, 152f.  
**Kandarpa**, 364  
**Kanyākumārī**, 427  
**Kansa**, 245, 255, 480  
**Kapardin**, epithet of Rudra, 301, 394  
 — epithet of Pūshan, 301  
 — of the Trites, 301  
**Kapila** incarnation, 156  
**Karālī**, 425, 429. See **Umā**  
**Karṇa**, 221 ff, 227 f.  
**Kartavīrya**, 253  
**Kartīkeya**, his birth according to the Mahābhārata, 349  
 — according to the Rāmāyana, 364  
**Kārūsha**, 214  
**Kaserumat**, 253  
**Kasyapa**, 13, 27, 33 f, 118, 133, 136, 177, 322, 369  
**Kataka**, commentator on the Rāmāyana, on interpolations in that work, 480 f.  
**Kāthaka**, 319, 396  
**Kātyāyana's** śrauta sūtras, 126  
**Kātyāyani**, 360, 426  
**Kauśalyā**, 171, 173, 175, 445  
**Kaushitaki** Brāhmaṇa, 343, 423  
**Kauśika** 193  
**Kausiki**, 234  
**Kaustubha** gem, 263  
**Kena Upanishad**, quoted, 420  
**Kesin** (the long-haired), 318  
**Kesin** (his car), 336  
**Kesin** (a Dānava), 350  
**Ketumati**, 487  
**Khaṇḍaparaśu**, 240  
**Khāṇḍava**, 128  
**Khāṇḍava** forest, 161, 246  
**Khara**, a rākhasa, brother of Ravana, 471, 482  
**Kimpūrusa**, 289  
**Kirāta**, form of, taken by Rudra, 230  
**Kirti**, 163  
**Kośala Videhas**, 328  
**Krātha**, 253  
**Kṛiṣāṇa**, 75, 316  
**Krishna**, his adulteries, 48ff.  
 — his self-consciousness, 178  
 — identified with Rāma, 181  
 — son of Devaki, and pupil of Ghora, 183  
 — renders homage to Mahādeva, 186 ff.  
 — receives boons from Mahādeva and Umā, 195  
 — is a great devotee, 251  
 — performs a ceremony for a son, 259  
 — recommends worship of Durgā, 205  
 — his supernatural character disputed by Śaśupāla and Duryodhana, 205 ff, 281  
 — explanation of his names, 218  
 — identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, 185, 228  
 — his supernatural power and various exploits, 245  
 — produced from the black hair of Viṣṇu, 257 ff.  
 — identified with the Supreme Spirit, 50, 208, 240, 264 ff.  
 — Brahmā and Rudra produced from him, 230, 267, 273  
 — one with Rudra, 268, 280  
 — his fight with Rudra, 279  
 — goes to Dvāravatī from fear of Jarasandha, 288  
 — summary of views regarding him, 281 f.  
**Kṛita** age, 196  
**Kṛittikā**, 350  
**Kṣhayadvīra**, sense of the word, 301 f, 399, 507  
**Kuener's** (Prof. A.) Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek referred to, 320  
**Kuhn's** (Prof.) opinions referred to, 424  
**Kuhn and Schleicher's** Beitrage, etc., 81  
**Kullūka** on Manu, 3, 31.  
**Kumāra**, 151  
**Kumūra** (a boy), applied to Ravana, 462, 482  
**Kumbhakarna**, brother of Ravana, 462, 482  
**Kūrma** (tortoise) incarnation, 27, 156  
**Kūrma Purāṇa**, 376, 472  
**Kurukshetra**, 125, 128  
**Kuśa**, son of Rāma, 478  
**Kutsa**, 162  
**Kuvera**, 180, 366, 482 f, 486  
 L.  
**Langlois's** Harivamśa, 250  
**Lessen's** (Prof. Christian) Deutsche Alterthumskunde, or, Indian Antiquities, referred to, 136, 169, 211, 243, 245, 283, etc.  
**Lakshmana**, brother of Rāma, 175, 445, etc.  
 — wounded by Indrajit, 449 ff.  
 — ascends to heaven, 478  
**Lakshmi**, 182, 450 f, 460, 466  
**Lava**, son of Rāma, 478  
**Linga Purāṇa** quoted—  
 1, 3, 28 ff—42  
 1, 4, 59 ff—39  
 1, 17, 5-52—386  
 1, 19, 8 ff—391  
 2, 28 —426  
**Linga** worship, 192, 405 ff.  
**Lingīn** (receptacle of the linga), 388  
**Lokampriya**, 57  
**Lokāyatikas**, 138  
**Madhu**, a Dānava, 230, 435  
**Mādhuhi**, a muni, 123  
**Madhura**, a city, 478  
**Madhusūdana**, 133  
**Maghavat** (Indra), 105 f.  
**Mahābhārata**, quoted or referred to—  
 i. **Adiparvan**.  
 1215—219  
 2519—118  
 2592—11  
 2598—118  
 2785—80

*Mahābhārata, continued.*

- 7049—286  
7306—259  
8196—246
- ii. Sabha-parvan.  
582—297  
626—287  
653—288  
729—291  
861—289  
869—278  
1211—206  
1333—206  
1410—212
- iii. Vana-parvan.  
166 ff.—117 f., 474  
192—371  
461—229  
471—251  
484—136  
615—216  
1518—184, 230  
6054—284  
8168—285  
8349—285  
10209—369  
10316—48  
10368—388  
10932—38  
11001—284  
12797—38  
14287—351  
14427—350  
15274—293  
15777—286  
15872—481  
15999—285  
16148—413  
16492—413  
16529—415
- iv. Virāṭa-parvan.  
178—426, 433
- v. Udyoga-parvan.  
130—243  
147—243  
320—261  
414—496  
1875—247  
1917—232  
2527—216  
2560—218  
3459—235  
3501—119  
4407—260  
4409—210  
4418—220
- vi. Bhishma-parvan.  
793 ff.—206, 432  
2932—236

*Mahābhārata, continued.*

- vii. Drona-parvan.  
382—244  
401—191  
419—235  
2224—479  
2355—243  
2838—184  
9575—203  
9632—199
- viii. Karna-parvan.  
1625—221
- ix. Sa'ya-parvan.  
2434—261  
3619—294
- x. Sautika-parvan.  
289—191  
312—186  
780—406  
786—373
- xii. S'anti-parvan.  
241—369  
1414—295  
1500—263  
1748—287  
3655—277  
6775—35  
6805—35  
7092—118  
10226—373  
10272—374  
12943—135  
13133—266  
13152—185, 266  
13171—63  
13228—219  
13229—88  
13265—238  
13337—241  
13723—393
- xi. Anuśāsana-parvan.  
599—157  
1160—406  
6295—268  
6397—189  
6889—189  
7092—118  
7232—369  
7356—274  
7402—196  
7610—405
- xiv. Aśvamedhika-parvan.  
1536—276
- Mahādeva. See Rudra  
Maharloka, 146, 388  
Mahat, 42  
Mahāvīra, 126  
Mahendra, 150. See Indra  
Mahādhara's commentary

- on Vājasaneyi Smṛiti,  
7, 15 f., 17, 104  
Maitri Upanishad, quoted,  
267  
Makha, 125 ff.  
Makhavat, 126  
Makha Vaiṣṇava, 128  
Mālatī-Mādhava, 430  
Mali, 487  
Mālini, 482  
Mālyavat, 487  
Mānasa (a name of the  
Creator), 35  
Mandara (a mountain), 279  
Mandhātṛi incarnation,  
156  
Mandodari, Rāvana's  
queen, 455, 466  
Man-lion (nara-siṃha) in-  
carnation, 135, 156  
Manojavā (one of the  
tongues of Fire), 429, 498  
Manthara, 484 f.  
Manu, quoted—  
i. 5 ff.—30  
— 32 ff.—35, 48  
iii. 2 —413  
vii. 38 —413  
viii. 82 —48  
ix. 305 —117  
— 308 —148  
xii. 91 —30  
— 121 —164  
Manu, the bard, 27  
Manu Svāyambhuva, 13  
— Vaivasvata, 33, 113  
Manvantara, (Chākshusha  
and Vaivasvata), 120  
Manyu, 349  
Marichi, 33 f., 47, 118, 120  
Marka, 155  
Mārkaṇḍeya, 279  
— Purāṇa, 343,  
435, 497  
Marus, 128  
Maruts, 45, 68, 76, etc.  
Mārtāṇḍa, 13, 15, 115  
Mataparikhāṇā, 49  
Mateya (or Fish) incarna-  
tion, 156  
Matsya Purāṇa, 45  
— quoted, 48  
— 47th section  
of, abstracted & quoted,  
151 ff.  
Maya, an Asura, 223  
Meghanāda (or Indrajit),  
son of Rāvana, 450, 495  
Mena, wife of Himavat,  
385, 430 f.

- Mera**, 42  
**Mithila**, 175  
**Mitra**, 14, 68, 74  
**Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary**, 53  
**Mrida**, 379. See **Rudra**  
**Mridāni**, 405  
**Mūjavat**, 322  
**Müller's (Prof. Max) edition of Rigveda**, 314  
 — his translation of ditto, 66, 68, 105, 111, 301, 314  
 — **Ancient Sanskrit Literature**, 5, 17, 48, 103, 108, 113, 129, 289 f.  
 — translation by him in *Zeitschr. der D. M. G.*, 105  
 — article on funeral rites of the Brahmins in ditto, 415  
 — his aid acknowledged, 498  
**Mundaka Upanishad**, 29  
 — i 2, 4 — 429  
**Muni**, the, 318 f.  
**Munjakesavāt**, 240  
**Mura**; 245, 250  
**Mūradeva**, 410  
 N.  
**Nagnajit**, 245, 249  
**Nahum**, i. 3—64  
**Nairuktas** (or etymologists), 66, 92, 159  
**Nalakūvara**, 461, 485  
**Namuchi**, slain by **Indra** with foam, 261, 472  
**Nandivāra**, 380, 460 f.  
**Nara**, 31 f., 119, 156, 185, 228 ff.  
**Nārāḥ**, 31 f.  
**Nārada**, 269  
 — incarnation, 156  
 — denounces **Brahmā**, Preface, vi.  
**Nārada-pañcharātra**, edited by **Rev. K. M. Banerjē**, Preface, vi.  
**Naraka**, an **Aura**, 245, 250  
**Nārāsana**, 86  
**Nārāsana's hymns**, 159  
**Nārāyaṇa**, 31 f., 37, 119, 156, 185, 228 ff.  
**Nara-simha**, or **man-lion** incarnation, 135, 156, 216  
**Nārāyaṇa**, commentator on the **Mahābhārata**, 119  
**Nārāyaṇas**, cowherds so called, 243  
**Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad**, 426  
**Narmada river**, 140  
**Nelkunda**, 427  
**Nidra Kūlarūpini**, 433  
**Nighaṭṭu**—  
 2, 7, 10, 17—310, 316  
 2, 10—103  
 2, 17—74  
 5, 3—159  
**Nikumbhilā**, place of sacrifice, 416  
**Nilakantha**, name of **Rudra**, 427  
**Nilakantha**, commentator on the **Mahābhārata**, 260, 265  
**Nilarudra Upanishad** quoted, 363  
**Nimi**, 372  
**Nirmochana**, 250  
**Nirriti**, 78, 313  
**Nirukta**, quoted or referred to—  
 1, 15—355, 403  
 1, 17—320  
 1, 20—69  
 2, 6, 7—69, 73  
 2, 11—441  
 2, 13—117  
 2, 17—74  
 3, 7—165  
 3, 10—190  
 3, 21—19  
 4, 19—71  
 4, 24—310  
 5, 7, 8, 9—88, 505  
 5, 11—81  
 6, 11—332  
 6, 15—8, 51  
 6, 17—82  
 6, 22—75  
 7, 4ff—65, 157ff.  
 7, 25—74  
 7, 29—114  
 8, 11—309  
 9, 1—28, and 35 ff.—159  
 9, 9—159  
 9, 10—310  
 10, 6ff—299, 314  
 10, 10—100  
 10, 26—9  
 10, 27—8  
 10, 32—111  
 10, 44—71  
 11, 9—310  
 11, 23—13, 159  
 11, 49—420  
**Nirukta**, continued—  
 12, 19—64, 156  
 12, 23—71  
 12, 26—318 f.  
 12, 36—115  
**Nirukta, Pariśiṣṭa**—  
 1 — 114  
 1, 1—104  
 2, 1—71  
 2, 10—8  
 2, 12—94  
 2, 21—78  
**Nishad**, a sort of **tasot**, 265  
**Nishādas**, 328  
**Nisunda**, 252  
**Nivātakavaśas**, 234  
 O.  
**Ogha**, a **rākṣasa**, 250  
 P.  
**Padma Purāṇa**, quoted, 278  
**Padma-kalpa**, 37  
**Panchadas astoma**, 162  
**Panchajanya**, an **asura**, 246  
**Panchaviṃśa Brahmapa** quoted, 129  
**Pānchi**, a **muni**, 123  
**Pāṇini**, 405, 490, 502  
**Pankti metre**, 162  
**Pannagya**, 199  
**Parameśthin**, 19, 26  
**Paras'nrūma**, 156, 170, 175 ff., 227, 287  
**Paṇṇab**, 128  
**Pārijāta tree**, 246  
**Parikrit**, 57  
**Parjanya**, 82, 111, 120, 160  
**Pārvatī**. See **Umā**, and **Himavat**  
**Paśubandha**, 67  
**Paśupati**, 289, 336 f. See **Rudra**.  
**Paśupata weapon**, 184, 232  
**Paśupata rite**, 361  
**Pātāla**, 38, 110  
**Paulomas**, 234  
**Periplus**, 427  
**Pictet's (M. Adolphe) Origines Indo-Européennes**, 81  
**Pinākin**, 191. See **Rudra**  
**Pisachas**, 188  
**Pitṭa**, 245  
**Pliny**, 427  
**Prabhāsa**, 252  
**Prāchyas**, 328  
**Pradhāna**, 3, 42, 194, 338  
 See **Prakṛiti**.



**Pradyumna**, son of Krishna, 221, 246, 435  
**Prāgyotisha**, 214, 253  
**Prahēti**, 486  
**Prahāda**, 149, 152, 154 f.  
**Prajāti**, 8, 15, 17 f, 28 f, 33, 37, 54 ff, 97  
 — created by the gods out of seven men, 22  
 — creates the Veda, 22  
 — creates the waters, 22, 439  
 — born in an Egg, 25  
 — takes the form of a tortoise, 27  
 — Agni, Indra, etc., spring from him, 26  
 — produced Agni from his mouth, 28  
 — is Dakṣa, 28  
 — is supporter of the universe, 28  
 — seeks to conquer worlds, 29  
 — his passion for his own daughter, 45  
 — half of him mortal, 55  
 — father both of Gods and Asuras, 59  
 — gives names to the Kumāra, 341, 345  
 — produces Agni, Vāyu, Chandramas, and Ushas, 345  
 — gods depart from him, 348. See Brahmā.  
**Prajapati** in a secondary sense applied to Kasyapa, Manu, 138, 273  
**Prakṛiti**, 263, 389. See Pradhāna  
**Prālamhā**, 245  
**Pramathas**, 379  
**Prāṇtra**, 200  
**Prasūti**, daughter of Manu, and wife of Dakṣa, 378  
**Prathas**, 96  
**Pravargya**, 126, 128  
**Prayati**, 4  
**Prisni**, 309, 311, 333  
**Prisnigarbha**, 264  
**Prishthas**, 162  
**Prithā**, mother of Arjuna, 53 f., 63, 185  
**Prithivī**, 161  
**Prithurāmi**, 492  
**Prishn incarnation**, 156  
**Pulastya**, 482, 485  
**Puloman**, 495

**Punjikasthalā**, daughter of Varuṇa, 458, 462  
**Punjishthas**, 328  
**Purandara** (Indra), 120  
**Purandhi**, 82  
**Purikayas**, 337  
**Pūrnamāsa**, 57  
**Pūru**, 103  
**Purūravas**, 457  
**Purusha**, 10, 19, 33, 42, 44, 73, 184  
**Purusha incarnation**, 156  
**Purusha Nārāyaṇa**, 29  
**Purusha-sūkta**, 10, 29  
**Purushottama**, 252  
**Purnashottama** of the Chedis, 297  
**Pūshan**, 68, 76, 95, 115, etc.  
 — his teeth knocked out by Rudra, 200, 383  
**Pushpotkata**, mother of Ravana, 482, 487  
**Pūtana**, female demon killed by Krishna, 210  
**Putriyā ishti**, 170  
 R.  
**Radheya**, 286  
**Rāhu**, 190  
**Raivata-sūman**, 163  
**Raghuvamśa** quoted, 53, 117, 138, 153  
**Rajas**, 11, 71, 267, 276  
**Rājendralāl Mitra** (Babu), his translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad quoted, 26  
**Rajasas**, 337  
**Rājasūya sacrifice**, 205, 287  
**Rākā**, 482, 487  
**Rākshasas**, their origin at early history, 486  
 — did they specially worship Rudra? 411  
**Rāma**, represented as an incarnation of Vishnu, 168 ff.  
 — his miraculous birth discussed, 170 ff., 441 ff., 481  
 — ignorant of his own nature, 180  
 — told by Brahmā who he is, 181  
 — the gods anxious about him, 447  
 — congratulated by gods, 472  
 — says he can easily destroy Rākshasas, 476

**Rāma wounded by Indrajit**, 450  
 — recovers his senses, 452  
 — told by Vāyu who he is, 453  
 — does not know Garuda, 458  
 — defeats Ravana, 457  
 — defied by Ravana, 463  
 — advised to utter a hymn to the Sun, 473  
 — his divinity owned by Mandodari, 467  
 — ascends to heaven, 479  
**Rāmāyaṇa** quoted or referred to—  
 i. Bala-kāṇḍa.  
 1, 4, 81 ff., 84, 86—443  
 1, 13 & 18—442  
 2, 32—443  
 3, 3 ff.—441  
 4, 14—442  
 8, 1—170  
 11, 1—170  
 11, 20—171  
 12, 1—171  
 13, 36, 54—171  
 14, 1—165  
 16, 1—173  
 17, 1—173  
 18, 1 ff.—173, 444  
 19, 1 ff.—174  
 19, 10 ff.—444  
 23, 10—164  
 29, 9—250  
 31, 2 ff.—130  
 32, 2 ff.—132  
 35, 20—364  
 36, 13—430  
 37, 3, 5—364 f.  
 42 & 43 — 365  
 45, 21—366  
 45, 26—50  
 48, 16 ff.—48  
 49, 1 ff.—49  
 66, 7—372  
 66, 13—404  
 75, 14—176  
 ii. Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa.  
 108, 3—188  
 110, 2—83  
 119, 2—84  
 iii. Āraṇya-kāṇḍa.  
 24, 19—448  
 80, 20—447  
 80, 27—371, 471

Rāmāyana, continued.

30,	36—373
31,	10—373
32,	5—361
58,	1—443
70,	2—373
iv. Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa.	
5,	30—371
40,	11—443
40,	54—439
43,	20—366
43,	46—480
43,	54—367
44,	27—366
44,	46—368
44,	117—367
v. Sundara-kāṇḍa.	
12,	39—373
24,	44—416
89, 1 ff.—	370, 419, 483
91,	3—477
vi. Yuddha-kāṇḍa.	
7,	18—412
17,	1—483
18,	22—476
19,	33—416
26,	8 ff.—453
33,	25—456
34,	7—464
39,	21—441
40,	44—463
41,	2—463
44,	32—416
45,	50—449
51,	17—371
54,	23—373
55,	88—371
59,	105—456
60,	5—457
60,	67—462
60,	11—462
63,	2—462
63,	13—418
64,	11—418
65,	12—419
66,	2—418
71,	28, 31—412 f.
72,	62—413
73,	37—371
76,	93—371
84,	14—418
85,	12—418
86,	14—419
87,	2—418
93,	30—413
93,	58—413
95,	5—468
95,	25—469

Rāmāyana, continued.

96,	10—414
106,	1—473
111,	23—413
113,	5—466
113,	49—494
113,	112—414
119,	1—173
vii. Uttara-kāṇḍa.	
Sections 1—11—485 ff.	
4,	9—439
16,	1—460
17,	1—458
17,	35—451
19,	—457
23,	—480
25,	2, 7—416
27,	30—495 ff.
30,	12—418
30,	19—497
31,	42—406, 420
36,	44—490
37,	—480
59,	—480
103 ff.	—477
Rāmopakhyaṇa, story of	
Rāma as told in the	
Vana-parvan of the	
Mahābhārata, 481 ff.	
Rāma's story as related in	
the Drona-parvan of the	
Mahābhārata, 479	
Rathantara, 96, 161, 193 f.	
Ratnagarbha, commen-	
tator on Vāṇu Purāṇa,	
quoted, 257	
Rambhā, an Āpsaras, 468,	
461	
Rātri-sūkta, 498	
Rāvaṇa's birth, 482, 488	
— his austerities, 482,	
488	
— obtains boon from	
Brahmā, 482, 488	
— drives Kuvera from	
Lankā, 483	
— acts oppressively,	
483	
— Brahṁa promises	
his destruction, 483	
— wounds Laksh-	
mana, 456	
— defeated by Rāma,	
457	
— his reflections, 457	
— sues, and then in-	
sults, Vedavati, 469	
— his arms crushed	
by Rudra, 461	

Rāvaṇa violates Rambhā.

461	—
—	defies Viāṇu, 463,
465	—
—	acknowledges Rāma
—	to be Viāṇu, 465
—	his body burned
—	with Brahmanical rites,
414	—
—	observes the Vedic
—	ritual, 413
Rāyovājīya, 492	—
Ribbukshan, 76, 98, 311	—
Ribhus, 80, 88, 311	—
Rich, 10	—
Richika, 177	—
Riddhi, wife of Kuvera, 370	—
Rigveda Samhita quoted or	—
referred to—	—
Māṇḍala i.	
2,	2—76
5,	4—314
7,	3—99
9,	7—310
10,	9—160
10,	11—193, 434
18,	2—317
22, 16—21—	63 ff., 97, 402
22,	17 ff.—75 ff.
24,	8—108
27,	10—299, 395
27,	13—113
32,	1—69
32,	6—102
32,	15—302
33,	11—314
33,	1—502
34,	11—54
39,	6—494
43, 1—6—	91, 300, 399 f.
45,	2—54
50,	7—71, 109
51,	2—68
51,	3—316, 408
51,	5—61
52, 8, 12—	14—99
55,	1—99
55,	4—317
59,	5—103, 111
61,	7—67, 92, 503
61,	9—99
63,	7—103
64,	2—300, 400
67,	3—111
81,	4—314
81,	5—99 f.
85,	1—301, 400
85,	7—68
90,	5, 9—68

*Rigveda, continued.*

90,	7-71
94,	5-71
98,	3-28, 82
99,	-499
102,	8-99 f.
103,	2-100
104,	6-315
105,	8-410
106,	4-302
108,	9-70
112,	3-302
114, 1-11-	301 ff., 309 f., 398, 400 f.
115,	1-111
121,	2 f.-100, 107
122,	1-308
125,	2-302
128,	1-159
127,	3-494
128,	2-314 f.
129,	3-306, 400
131,	1-306
154,	1-6-68 ff., 73, 75, 82, 97, 101
155,	1-6-74 f., 84, 86, 97 f.
156,	1-5-75 f., 97
184,	6-71
164,	36-76
165,	13-314 f.
167,	4 f.-410, 420
180,	7-410
181,	3-82
186,	10-78
190,	2-109
<i>Mandala ii.</i>	
1,	3-76, 97
1,	6-306, 400
1,	8 f.-114
3,	11-314
12, 1 f., 9, 13-	15, 99, 100
15,	1-3-69, 99, 101, 108
18,	4-160
22,	1-77
27,	1-115
27,	10-108, 114
28,	10-63, 76
33,	1-15-302, 307 ff. 398, 399 ff.
34,	2-309, 400
34,	11-85
38,	4-317
38,	8-13
38,	9-809
<i>Mandala iii.</i>	
2,	5-310
5,	6-318

*Rigveda, continued.*

6,	4-69, 77
17,	1-83
18,	5-82
26,	7-71
30,	5-160
30,	9-101
32,	7-9-77, 101 f., 109
33,	4-109
44,	3-102
47,	1-314
53,	6-160
53,	7-306
54,	14-77, 97
55,	10-77
<i>Mandala iv.</i>	
1,	8-6
2,	4-78
3,	1, 6-302, 310, 400
3,	7-78, 97
5,	7, 13-316 f.
6,	6-6
7,	7-318
16,	5-102
18,	11-78, 97 f.
30,	1-99, 102
36,	9-310
38,	5-310
50,	2-82
55,	4-79
58,	5-19
<i>Mandala v.</i>	
2,	1-341
3,	1-3-79, 97
17,	2-318
21,	4-816
29,	7-81
41,	2-311
41,	20-317
42,	11, 15-311, 400
43,	6-317
46,	2-4-80
49,	3-504
51,	9-80
61,	13-311
62,	16-311, 400
54,	6-317
59,	8-311
60,	5-311, 400
63,	5-71
70,	2 f.-300
73,	5-91
74,	6-318
81,	3-72, 96
83,	8-5
87,	1, 4, 8-81, 97
<i>Mandala vi.</i>	
1,	11-310
11,	2-7

*Rigveda, continued.*

16,	39-312
17,	4-810
17,	7-99, 102
17,	11-81, 92
20,	2-82, 98
21,	9-82
28,	7-312, 400
30,	4-99, 103
31,	2-103
32,	5-109
35,	4-310
38,	3-103
46,	13-109
47,	8-160
48,	13 f.-82
49,	10-312, 400
49,	13-82, 97
50,	2-13
50,	4-312, 400
50,	7-17
50,	12-82
55,	2-301
66,	3-312, 400
89,	1-8-83 f., 97
70,	1, 5-108, 310
72,	2-101, 107 f.
74,	1, 4-313, 400 f.
<i>Mandala vii.</i>	
1,	6-317
3,	5-80
3,	10-314 f.
10,	4-313
20,	1-314
20,	4-99, 103
21,	3-8-407, 409
31,	7-102
32, 16, 22 f.-	99, 103, 258
33,	1-301
34,	21-317
35,	8-313, 400
35,	9-84
36,	5-313
36,	8-317
36,	9-85
37,	2-314
39,	5-78, 85
40,	5-85
41,	1-313
42,	3-317
44,	1-85
48,	1-4-314, 400
56,	1, 2-315, 400
58,	8-319
58,	5-315
59,	12-321
80,	6-314 f.
85,	3-148
78,	4-314

*Rigveda, continued.*

82,	5-108
83,	8-301
84,	1-108
85,	4-314
87,	1, 2-102, 109
87,	6-69
93,	8-85
98,	3-99, 103, 111
99,	1-7-72, 75, 86 f., 97 f., 504
100,	1-6-82, 86 f., 97, 307, 504
101,	4-111
103,	7-81
104,	12, 24-410
<i>Mandala viii.</i>	
1,	21-68
3,	6, 8-104
7,	10-81
9,	12-88, 97
10,	2-89
12,	8-504
12, 16,	25 ff.-89, 98
13,	20-316
14,	13-261
15,	8 ff.-89, 98
17,	12-190
17,	14-319
19,	10-302
20,	3-85
20,	7-314
20,	17-316, 400
20,	23-300
21,	13-15, 100, 104
22,	1-506
22,	13 f.-300, 316
25,	6-82
25,	11-14-89, 402
26,	5-300
27,	8-90
28,	5-305
29,	1-10-90 f., 97, 400
30,	1-113
31,	10-91
31,	12-317
32,	10-82
35,	1, 14-91
36,	4-104
37,	3-104
42, 1, 2, 10,	109, 111, 317
43,	3-357
51,	2-76, 104
57,	1-86
59,	5-104
61,	3-316
64,	12-106
66,	4-81
66,	10-27, 91, 97, 502

*Rigveda, continued.*

67,	5-105
72,	7-93
77,	3-101
77,	4-105
78,	5-103
82,	11-105
85,	5-68
86,	9-105
87,	2-106
89,	3 f.-37
89,	12-78, 97 f.
90,	11 f.-109
<i>Mandala ix.</i>	
1,	4-310
4,	1-113
6,	3-310
33,	3-93
34,	2-93
43,	5-310
44,	6-310
45,	5-90
56,	4-93
59,	1-114
61,	16-112
63,	3, 12-93, 310
65,	20-94
66,	18-63
67,	5, 10 f.-301, 310
83,	5-113
86,	28-30-112
87,	5-310
89,	6-112
90,	5-94
96,	5-94, 98, 112, 114
96,	10, 14-114
97,	16-103
97,	24-112
100,	6-95
100,	8-113
101,	13-126
107,	7-113
109,	4-113
112,	4-410
114,	3-115
<i>Mandala x.</i>	
1,	3-95, 97
7,	6-7, 9
9,	5-302
10,	-48
15,	3-508
17,	3-162
25,	1-314 f.
39,	11-316
40,	12-116
42,	9-106
43,	5-106
48,	3-106

*Rigveda, continued.*

61,	4-7-46
61,	19-341
64,	8-316
64,	15-317
66,	1-95
66,	3-317
66,	4 f.-95
69,	3-310
72,	1-9-11 f., 28, 115
75,	9-161
79,	3-316
81,	1-7-5 ff., 30
82,	1-7-5 ff.
85,	37-410
86,	1-106, 114
86,	16 f.-410
88,	10-65
88,	11-114
90,	-282
90,	2-105
90,	16-23
92,	5, 9-317, 400
92,	11-95
93,	4, 7-317
94,	2-161
95,	4 f.-19
99,	1-8-408 f.
102,	8-301
109,	1-24
110,	6-309
111,	1-5-99, 101, 107 f
113,	1 f.-95
116,	2-160
121,	1-10-15, 71
125,	6-318, 400
126,	5-318
127,	1-8-304, 498
128,	2-96
129,	1-7-3 f.
133,	2-15, 100, 107
134,	1-25, 99, 107
136,	1-7-318
138,	3-99
139,	5-71, 112
140,	1-310
141,	3, 5-96
142,	2-301
149,	1-101, 108, 110
154,	3-278
168,	3 f.-16
169,	1-320
171,	2-126
180,	2-67
181,	1-3-96
184,	1-96
<i>Rishabha incarnation, 156</i>	
<i>Rishika, 263</i>	
<i>Rishia, 22</i>	
<i>Rishyasringa, 167, 172</i>	

- Ritadhāman, 180  
 Rodast, 420  
 Roer's (Dr. E.) translation of the Upanishads, 421  
 Rohini, 266, 262  
 Rosen's (Dr. F.) Latin translation of the R̥gveda, 63  
 Rost (Dr. R.), suggestion made by him, 210  
 Roth (Professor Rudolph), article by him in Jour. of the American Oriental Society, 48  
 — article by him in Journal of German Oriental Society, 114, 148  
 — his Illustrations of the Nirukta, 6, 8, 9, 13, 64, 69, 73, 81 f., 105, 314, etc.  
 — his remarks on *śravas* and *śru*, 494.  
 See Bohtlingk and Roth  
 Rudra, 42, 46, 50  
 Rudra, as represented in the R̥gveda, 299 ff.  
 — in the Yajurveda, 321 ff.  
 — in the Atharvaveda, 332 ff.  
 — in the brahmanas, 339 ff.  
 — in the Upanishads, 355 ff.  
 — in the Rāmāyaṇa, 176, 364 ff., 406  
 — in the Mahābhārata, 184–205, 223 ff., 230 ff., 240 f., 266 ff., 278 ff., 282 ff., 373 ff.  
 — in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 378 ff.  
 — in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, 392  
 — in the Linga Purāṇa, 386 ff.  
 — in the Harivaṃśa, 393  
 Rudra identified with Agnī, 389 ff.  
 — fights with Vishṇu, 176, 279  
 — fights with Arjuna, 231  
 — identified with Kṛishṇa, or Vishṇu, 280  
 Rudra, his linga, 192, 406 ff.  
 — his unchastity, 191  
 — worshipped by Kṛishṇa and Arjuna, 184 ff., 195  
 — worshipped by Brahmā and Vishṇu, 193  
 — his fight with Kṛishṇa, 279  
 — the creator of Brahmā & Vishṇu, 188, 193, 391  
 — sprung from Brahmā, 392 f.  
 — sprung from Kṛishṇa or Vishṇu, 267, 273  
 — identified with Vishṇu, 241, 280, 384  
 — identified with the Supreme Spirit, 185, 232  
 — disturbs Dakṣha's sacrifice, 240, 268, 372 ff.  
 — destroys castles of the Asuras, 203, 225 f.  
 — his vigour increased by hymns, 226  
 — his third eye formed, 270  
 — his names applied to Vishṇu, 272  
 — prevalence of his worship as described in the Mahābhārata, 284 ff.  
 — seizes victims at sacrifice, 284  
 — human victims devoted to him, 288 ff.  
 — father of Maruts, 305  
 — curses Kandarpa, 364  
 — the lord of thieves, 327  
 — attributes applied to, or abuse of, him explained away by commentators, 327, 379  
 — cursed by Dakṣha, 380  
 — cursed by Bhrigu, 382  
 — plucks out Bhrigu's beard and Bhaga's eyes, knocks out Pūshan's teeth, and cuts off Dakṣha's head, 383 f. (see also 200, 268)  
 — formerly general of the gods, 365  
 — receives the Gaṅgā on his head, 365  
 — swallows poison, 366  
 — his abode, 367  
 — identified with Viśvakarman, 364, 376 f.  
 Rudra, his linga appears & allays a dispute between Brahmā and Vishṇu, 390  
 — plays dice with Kṛishṇa, 483  
 — his linga worship, 192, 406 ff.  
 — remarks of Professors Wilson, Weber, and Whitney on him, 394 ff.  
 — summary of views regarding him, 399 ff.  
 Rudra Prajapati, 46  
 — Vāstoshpati, 46  
 Rudras, 64, 180, 331  
 Rudrāṇi, 405  
 Rudravartani, sense of the word, 316  
 Rukmin, 215, 286  
 Rukmiṇi, wife of Kṛishṇa, 189  
 S.  
 S'achi, 135  
 Sādhyas, 180  
 Sāgara, 365  
 Saint John's Gospel, iii. 8–16  
 S'aivas, 385  
 S'aivya, 263  
 S'ākrapūṇi, 64 ff., 97, 156  
 S'akra, 105  
 S'akti, 383  
 S'ukvara sūma, 162  
 Sūlankatankatā, 486  
 S'alya, King of the Madras, 221 ff.  
 Sāmaveda, parallel passages from, 5, 10, 63, &c.  
 — i. 90, and i. 361—27  
 S'ambara, 86  
 S'ambru, 43, 367  
 S'ambru, King of the Daityas, 459  
 Śanaka, 38  
 Sanandana, 38  
 S'āṇḍa, 155  
 Sandhyāvidyā, 428  
 S'ankara on Brahma-sūtras i. 3, 28, referred to, 131  
 Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa vi. 1 ff., 343  
 Sāṅkhyā, 3, 41, 224  
 S'āntā, 174  
 Saprathas, 96  
 Saptadāśa stoma, 162  
 Sarasvatī, 35, 80, 86, 424, 428  
 Sarayū, 368, 478 f.

S'araga, 181  
S'ara, 78  
S'arva, 186, 828, 332  
Sarvamedha, 369  
S'arvāpi, 405  
S'atadhauvan, 253  
S'ataghni, a magical  
weapon, 249  
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa  
quoted—

i.  
2, 3, 6 —290  
2, 5, 1 ff.—122  
7, 2, 22 — 59  
7, 2, 24 —106  
7, 3, 1 —202  
7, 3, 8 —339, 403  
7, 3, 18 — 59  
7, 4, 1 ff.— 45, 201  
9, 2, 34 —106

ii.  
1, 1, 3 — 21  
1, 4, 11 — 24  
1, 4, 27 —123  
2, 2, 8 — 58  
2, 4, 1 — 28  
4, 4, 1 — 28  
6, 2, 9 —321

iii.  
1, 3, 3 — 14, 116  
9, 4, 20 — 27

iv.  
1, 5, 1 — 48, 129  
5, 4, 1 ff.— 61  
5, 7, 2 — 54  
6, 3, 1 — 56

v.  
1, 1, 1 — 60

vi.  
1, 1, 1 ff.—20 ff., 404  
1, 2, 1 — 46  
1, 2, 8 —116  
1, 2, 18, 21 — 21  
1, 3, 1 ff.— 21  
1, 3, 7 ff.—339, 404  
2, 1, 1 — 21  
3, 1, 18 — 72  
6, 2, 11 — 61  
6, 3, 2 — 61  
7, 1, 17 — 24  
8, 1, 14 — 28

vii.  
4, 1, 19 — 15  
4, 3, 5 — 27  
2, 11 — 19  
5, 2, 21 — 22

VOL. IV.

S'atap Brāhmaṇa, *contd.*  
ix.

1, 1, 1 ff.—330, 347  
1, 1, 6 ff.—348  
2, 2, 2 — 21  
3, 3, 2 — 56  
5, 1, 1 — 56  
5, 1, 12 ff.— 58

x.  
1, 3, 1 ff.— 54  
1, 4, 1 — 55  
2, 1, 1 — 29  
2, 2, 1, 5 — 23  
2, 3, 18 — 23  
2, 4, 8 — 23  
3, 5, 13 — 56  
4, 2, 2 — 55  
4, 3, 1 ff.— 56  
4, 4, 1 — 55  
6, 5, 1 — 3

xi.  
1, 2, 12 — 58  
1, 4, 4 —506  
1, 6, 1 ff.— 17, 24  
1, 6, 14 — 21  
1, 8, 1 f.— 30, 60  
2, 3, 1 — 29  
2, 3, 6 — 58  
2, 7, 26 — 61  
3, 2, 1 — 61  
4, 3, 1 — 56  
5, 1, 1 — 19  
6, 3, 8 —116

xii.  
3, 4, 1 — 29  
7, 3, 1 —261

xiii.  
2, 4, 1 — 29  
6, 1, 1 — 29  
7, 1, 1 — 29  
7, 1, 14 f.—369

xiv.  
1, 1, 1 —124  
1, 2, 11 — 27  
2, 2, 2 — 24  
4, 2, 21, 23 — 29  
7, 1, 34 —131  
8, 1, 1 —258  
8, 6, 1 — 24  
S'atarudriya, 186, 193,  
199, 322 ff.  
— its object and name  
explained, 349  
S'atarūpā, 13, 48  
Sati (Mahadeva's wife),  
378, 385. See Umā  
S'atrughna, 175, 445  
Sattva guṇa, 267, 276

Satyaloṇa, 388  
Saubha, a magical city,  
246, 249, etc.  
Saumanasa peak, 440  
Saumya adhvara, 44  
S'aurva, 328  
Saviras, 214  
Savana, 80  
Sāvarni Manvantara, 149,  
155  
Savitri, 20, 72, 80, 109.  
See Sūrya  
Savitri, 48, 379  
Sayana, 11, 12, 14, 46,  
281, 303, etc.  
Sāyangrīha muni, 252  
Schlegel's Rāmāyana, 33,  
and *passim*  
— his opinion referred  
to, 170  
Scholia *minora* on the  
Iliad quoted, 255  
S'eśha, 110  
Siddhas, 165  
Siddhāntas, 110  
Siddhānta-śrōmaṇi, 110  
Siddhāśrama, 135  
S'ipivishṭa, 87 f., 504 ff.  
S'isnadeva, sense of the  
word, 407 ff.  
S'isupāla disputes  
na's right to N  
205 ff.  
— his previous history,  
211  
— slain by Kṛishna, 215  
Sītā, daughter of Janaka,  
and wife of Rāma, 176,  
and *passim*  
— her birth from the  
ground, 464 f.  
— threatened by Rak-  
shasis, 416  
— sees Rāma wounded,  
451  
— was formerly Veda-  
vati, 460  
— born for Rāvana's  
destruction, 460, 471  
— enters the fire, 178  
S'itikanṭha, 176, 240  
S'iva, 176 (see Rudra)  
S'ivā, wife of Aśvins  
Skambha, 11 f., 13 f.  
Skanda (see Kārtikeya)  
Skanda Purāṇa, 152  
Sky (Dya), 46 (pati, 45  
Sky, daughter of Praja-  
Soma, 77, 80, 94 f., 108,  
113 f., 360, 422

- Somagiri, 367  
 Speech, 22  
 Sphulinginī, 429, 498  
 S'raddhā, 267  
 S'ri, 76, 168, 273, 453  
 S'ridhara Svāmin, 51  
 S'rikantha, 241  
 S'rivatsa, 241, 263  
 Stasinus, Cypria, 256  
 Stevenson (Dr.), on the  
   ante-brahmanical reli-  
   gion of the Hindus, 406  
 Sthānu, 165, 167  
 Stomas, 162  
 Sudarsana (name of Vish-  
   nu's chakra), 191, 249  
 Suddhāsana, 249  
 Suddhāsuddhīya, 491  
 Suddhūmravarnā, 429  
 Sugriva, 452, 465  
 Sukesha, 486  
 S'akra, 150, 152 ff.  
 S'lohitā, 429, 498  
 Sumālī, 487, 495  
 Sumitrā, 173, 175  
 Sunśman, 245, 249  
 S'nnasāśpa, 289, 300  
 Sundarī, 487  
 Supārśva (minister of Rā-  
   vaṇa), 413  
 S'ūrasena, 245  
 S'ūrp-jakhā, 482, 488  
 Sūrya, 29, 61, 66  
   — texts in praise of,  
     109, 473  
   — one of the triad of  
     gods, 66, 160 ff., 298  
 Sūryā (goddess), 91  
 Sushna, 107  
 Sutala, 149  
 Svadhā, 4  
   — sense of the word,  
     314  
 Svadhūvat, sense of, 314  
 Svāhā, 353  
 Svapivāta, sense of the  
   word, 314  
 Svarāt, 43  
 Svayambhū, 47, 173  
 Svāyambhuva, 13  
 S'vetadvipa, 241  
 S'vetāśvatara, Upanishad,  
   355  
 Vriṣhtakṛit, 200, 372  
   T.  
 Taittirīya, 70  
 Taittirīya Aranyaka—  
   i. 14, 1 —116  
   — 23, 1 — 24  
 Taittirīya Aran., *contd.*—  
   v. 1, 1 ff.—127  
   x. 1, 8 —28, 502  
   — 1, 160 —422  
 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—  
   i.  
     1, 3, 5 ff.— 24  
     4, 1, 1 — 59  
     6, 1, 2 —317  
     6, 4, 10 —321  
     7, 1, 2 —347  
     7, 1, 6 —261  
   ii.  
     2, 9, 9 — 25  
     6, 9, 1 ff.— 21  
   1, 5, 7 —129  
   2, 7, 9 —15  
   2, 9, 6 —61  
   4, 1, 1 —289  
   9, 21, 1 —116  
   10, 9, 1 —58  
   12, 3, 1 —29  
 Taittirīya Saṁhitā—  
   i.  
     1, 5, 1 —341  
     1, 8, 1 —126  
   ii.  
     2, 12, 5 —505  
     3, 2, 1 —55  
     4, 9, 2 —492  
     4, 12, 2 —78  
     5, 5, 2 —504, 506  
     6, 8, 3 —200  
   iii.  
     2, 4, 1 —126  
     4, 5, 1 —129  
   iv.  
     1, 8, 3 ff.—17  
     6, 2, 1 ff.—5 f.  
   v.  
     4, 3, 1 —348  
     5, 7, 4 —348  
     7, 5, 3 —24  
   vi.  
     2, 4, 2 —39  
     2, 7, 6 —492  
     6, 8, 3 —160  
   vii.  
     1, 5, 1 ff.—24  
     4, 9, 1 —201  
 Tūlaketu, 253  
 Talavakāra Upanishad,  
   420, 422  
 Tamas, 267, 276  
 Tandī, 165  
 Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa—  
   iv. 1, 4—503  
   vi. 9, 7—349  
   vii. 4, 2—503  
   — 5, 6—507  
   — 5, 11; 6, 5—503  
   — 5, 20—152  
   — 6, 1 f.—503  
   viii. 1, 4—491 f.  
   — 2, 1—502  
   — 2, 10—503  
   ix. 7, 9—504  
   xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13,  
       27—503  
   — 6, 8—507  
   xiii. 4, 17—491  
   xiv. 11, 28—491 f.  
   xviii. 1, 9—492  
   — 6, 26—506  
   xx. 14, 2—503  
   — 15, 6—504  
 Tūnūnapāt, 9  
 Tapoloka, 146  
 Tāraka, Tārakāksha, an  
   Asura, 223 f.  
 Tāraksha, 148  
 Tides, cause of the, 219  
 Time, in the form of an  
   ascetic, 477  
 Tirtha, a commentator on  
   the Rāmāyaṇa, 480  
 Tishya, 316  
 Trayastrīṃśa stoma, 163  
 Triad of Agni, Vāyu (or  
   Indra), and Sūrya, 61,  
   163, 298, 421  
   — of Brahmā, Vishṇu  
     and Śiva (or Rudra),  
     280  
 Trijātā, a Rākshasī, 451  
 Tuskadruka, 77, 87  
 Trikūta, 285  
 Trimūrti, 163  
 Trinava stoma, 162  
 Triṇavindu, 486  
 Tripishṭapa, 284  
 Triple science, 60  
 Triśṭubh, 123, 162  
 Tridṛṅga, 368  
 Trita Aptya, 89, 409  
 Trivikrama, 67, 273  
 Trivrit stoma, 161  
 Tryambaka, 204, 321  
 Tūṛghna, 128  
 Tushitas, 120  
 Tvashtri, 80, 91, 95, 97,  
   116, 317

U.

Uchhaishravas, 245  
 Udayagiri, or Udaya-  
 parvata, 66, 440  
 Udgātri, 66  
 Ugra and Ugradeva, 336,  
 339, 342 f., 346  
 Ugrasena, 249  
 Ukthya ritual, 84  
 Umā, daughter of Daksha  
 and Prasūti, 378, 385  
 — reborn as daughter  
 of Himavat and Menā,  
 385  
 Umā Haimavati, 421 ff.  
 Umā, how she got her name,  
 431  
 — her names and attri-  
 butes, 432  
 — born as a child of  
 Yasodā, 434  
 — connected with Vish-  
 nu as Mahāmāyā, 435  
 — identified with the  
 Supreme Spirit, 436,  
 (Called also Aparṇā,  
 Devī, Purgā, Kālī,  
 Kāṭālī, Pūrvatī, Satī,  
 Yoga-nidrā)  
 Upahavya, the, 491  
 Upamanyu, 189  
 Upendra, 150. See Vishnu  
 Urmilā, 465  
 Urukrama, 121  
 Uśanas, 142 f., 150, 152  
 Ushas, 91, 340  
 Uśījes, 112  
 Uttānapad, 12 f.  
 Uttānapāda, 13  
 Uttanga muni, 275  
 Uttara Kurus, 367  
 Uttara Mimāṃsā, 131

V.

Vāch, 23, 46 f.  
 Vajrayanta, 393  
 Vamānika creation, 388  
 Vairāja sāman, 162  
 Vairūpa sāman, 162  
 Vaishnava rite, 294, 416,  
 496  
 Vaishnavas, 377  
 Vaisravana, 370, 482, 486  
 Vaitarani river, 284  
 Vaivasvata Manvantara,  
 120, 136  
 Vajasaneyi Sanhitā quoted  
 or referred to—  
 57-63—321, 420  
 5, 11—430

Vāj. Sanhitā, continued—

5, 15—66  
 5, 16—86  
 6, 3—74  
 8, 45—5  
 10, 20—16  
 11, 57—126  
 12, 102—16  
 13, 4—15  
 16, 1-66—302, 322ff., 505  
 17, 17-23—5  
 17, 25-31—5 f.  
 18, 66—71  
 23, 3—16  
 23, 20—171  
 23, 49—67  
 25, 12, 13—15 f.  
 27, 5—17  
 27, 25 f.—16  
 30, 5—289  
 32, 4—358  
 32, 6 f.—16  
 33, 74—4  
 33, 48 f.—80  
 37, 3-5—27, 126  
 39, 8—403  
 Vājastavas, sense of the  
 word, 310, 494  
 Vajramushti, 487  
 Vakra, 286  
 Vālmiki, "sees" the  
 Rāmāyana, 441  
 Vāmadeva, 171  
 Vāmāna Purāṇa, 228  
 Vamra, 409.  
 Varada, 428  
 Varāha, an Asura, 93.  
 See "Boar"  
 Varāha Purāṇa, 278  
 Varchin, 86  
 Varuna, 14, 20, 48, 68, 74,  
 76, 98  
 — his majesty cele-  
 brated, 108 f.  
 — his daughter, 458,  
 462. See Punjikasthala  
 Varuṇi, 405  
 — his bonds or nooses,  
 148, 250  
 Vasishtha, 33, 73, 96, 171,  
 etc.  
 Vastavya, 202  
 Vastoshpati, 47  
 Vasudeva, 38, 216, 270, etc.  
 — of the Pundras, 297  
 Vasu Sāvitra, 495  
 Vasus, 54, 91  
 Vāta, 16, 76, 96  
 Vāyu, 29, 46, 66, 70, 76,  
 89, etc.

Vāyu, one of the triad of  
 gods, 66, 70, 160 ff.  
 Vāyu Purāṇa quoted, 188,  
 267, 278, 375, 377  
 Vedas, depreciated by the  
 S'ainvas, 381  
 Vedavati, 458, 471  
 Vedavyāsa incarnation, 156  
 Vendidad, 323  
 Vibhāṇḍaka, 166  
 Vibhishana, 370, 450, 452,  
 476  
 — his righteous  
 character, 483, 489  
 — obtains boon  
 from Brahmā, 483, 489  
 Vibhvan, 80  
 Vidarbhas, 215  
 Vidhar, 177  
 Vidhātṛi, 81, 121, 204  
 Viduratha, 246  
 Vidyutkesa, 486  
 Vināvaka, 359  
 Vindhyaśālī, 145, 149  
 Virabhadra, 373, 377  
 Virāj, 44, 48, 148, 390  
 Virinchi, Virinchiya, 378,  
 389. See Brahmā.  
 Virochana, 133  
 Viśāṇ, 314  
 Viśesh, 44  
 Vishnu, 20, 27 f., 31, 34,  
 36 ff., 47, 219, & passim  
 — as represented in  
 Rigveda, 63-97  
 — his three steps,  
 63 ff., 229, 439  
 — his rank in the  
 Rigveda, as compared  
 with other deities, 97-  
 114  
 — as Aditya, 114-  
 121, 164  
 — as described in the  
 Brāhmanas, 121 ff.  
 — a dwarf, 123  
 — the sacrifice, 126  
 — his incarnation as  
 a fish, tortoise, boar, 27,  
 37 ff.  
 — as a dwarf, 130 ff.  
 — kills S'ukra's mo-  
 ther, 152  
 — doomed by S'ukra's  
 curse to be born seven  
 times on earth, 152,  
 155 f.  
 — his ten incarnations  
 according to the Matsya  
 Purāṇa, 156



Vishnu, his twenty-two incarnations according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 156

— his incarnations innumerable according to ditto, 156

— incarnation as Rāma, 156, 168 ff., 175, 441 ff.

— his incarnation as Kṛishṇa, 156, 169, 216 ff., 252 ff.

— one with Rudra, 241

— one with the Supreme Spirit, 36, 50, 181, 264 ff.

— fights with Rudra, 177 f.

— Brahmā and Mahādeva produced from him, 230, 267, 273

— his dispute with Brahmā, 389

— sprung from Rudra (or Mahādeva), 391

Vishṇupada, 66

Vishṇu Purāṇa quoted or referred to—

i. 2, 21 f.—3

— 2, 25 —41

— 3, 1 ff.—36

— 4, 1 ff.—36

— 7 —385

— 7, 1 —35

— 7, 6 —392

— 7, 12, &c.—35, 48

— 7, 26 —35

— 8, 9 —385

— 15, 90 ff.—119

— 22, 24 ff.—262

ii. 5, 19 —110

iii. 1, —136

iv. 14, 4 —215

v. 1, 1 ff.—254 ff.

— 26, 1 —216

Vishvaksena, 181

Viśvavās, 482, 486

Viśvajit sacrifice, 137

Viśvakarman, 22, 149, 176,

204, 367 ff., 377, 484

Viśvāmitra, 177, 189

Viśvarūpi, 429

Viśvedevas, 89, 128

Vivasvat, 14 f., 33 f.

Vraja, 50

Vrātya, 338

Vṛihadratha, 291

Vṛihaspatisava, 332

Vṛishasipra, 86

Vṛitra, 78, 89

Vyādi, 490

## W.

Waters, 17 f., 22 ff., 31 ff., 119

Warriors slain in battle, their future rewards, 277

Weber, Prof. Albrecht, see "Indische Studien"

— translation and remarks supplied by him, 201

— his dissertation on Rudra, 395 ff.

— on Umā, 421 ff.

— his article in Journal of Germ. Or. Soc., 131

— Indische Streifen, 289

— article in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, 81

— his notice of the first edition of this work, 298

— remarks on Mundaka Upanishad, i. 2, 4—429

— on Ś'ipivishṭa, 506

Westergaard's dissertation on Indian history, 405

— Radices, 299

Whitney's (Prof. W. D.) remarks on Rudra, 398 f.

Wilkinson's (Mr. L.) translation of Siddhānta-siromani, 110

William's (Prof. Monier) Indian Epic Poetry, 161, 186

— Sanskrit English Dictionary, 249

Wilson's (Prof. H. H.) Sāṅkhyakārikā, 41

— Sanskrit Dictionary, 82

— translation of Rigveda, 66, 171

— of Vishṇu Purāṇa, 3, 41, 48, 119, etc.

— his remarks on Rudra, 394 f.

"Work-gods" are not objects of sacrifice, but can offer it, 131, 496

## Y.

Yadus, 50

Yajna incarnation, 156

Yājñika, 158

Yajush, 10, 96

Yajushmati, 57

Yakshas, 153, 167

Yama, 48, 180, 203, 333

Yami, 48

Yāka. See Nirukta

Yatis, 491 f.

Yātudhāna, 332

Yātudhānis, 326

Yavana, 253

Yoga, 224

Yoganidrā, 435

Yudhishthira, 205 & passim

— purposes of rājasūya sacrifice, 287, 292

## Z.

Zeus, 256

